

COMMUNICATING 21ST CENTURY STATECRAFT:
EVALUATING THE PARADIGM SHIFT ARGUMENT

A Thesis

by

JACQUELYN NICOLE CHINN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2011

Major Subject: Communication

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Joshua B. Barbour
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ABSTRACT

Communicating 21st Century Statecraft: Evaluating the Paradigm Shift Argument.

(August 2011)

Jacquelyn Nicole Chinn, B.A., Texas A&M University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Joshua B. Barbour

This project examines how social media is being used by individuals within the State Department engaged in public diplomacy and how the use of these technologies may or may not represent a paradigm shift in diplomatic operation. Assessments of social media and government in popular culture argue a fundamental shift has taken place in government operations. Yet this argument calls for theoretical examination using communication theory and via examination of organizational praxis. Using Ammon's criterion for paradigm shift in communications technology and diplomacy, I evaluated State's current program of social media and public diplomacy called 21st Century Statecraft. I conducted a content analysis of organizational Twitter feeds and also interviewed actors within the organization working with public diplomacy and social media. I also examined historical accounts of State's Voice of America radio program, and compared current organizational uses of social media with the appropriation of radio in the second half of the 20th century.

The results suggest that paradigm shift has not yet occurred despite the uses of the new technologies. In many cases, social media is being used akin to technologies from

previous paradigms due in part to the constraints of organizational structures. Twitter platforms were used as spaces to push information and policy to the masses, similar to the ways in which radio was used after World War II and throughout the Cold War. Organizational actors characterized social media as a tool to accomplish public diplomacy, not as the change agent those outside of the organization have argued it to be. They described organizational challenges of incorporating social media including questions of voice, information control, and doing ‘in-reach’ inside the organization. Finally, they described aspects of the interaction that took place as an opportunity to create dialogue amongst interested citizens around the world and to come into face-to-face contact with individuals outside the embassy. Although anomalous practices have begun to emerge as a result of new media’s use in the State Department, we have not reached what Kuhn would term a ‘critical mass’, necessitating a shift in worldview and practice.

*Jesus, this was your project. From a sincere heart of thanks for everything You are to
me- I love you.*

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NOMENCLATURE

PD	Public Diplomacy
PA	Public Affairs
USG	United States Government
VOA	Voice of America
RFE/RL	Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

It has always seemed to me the real art in this business is not so much moving information or guidance or policy five or 10,000 miles. That is an electronic problem. The real art is to move it the last three feet in face to face conversation.

(Edward R. Murrow, quoted in Clack, 2006, p. 2)

Edward Murrow, one of the driving forces behind what we know as modern day public diplomacy, once said that the challenge of public diplomacy is closing the last three feet in face-to-face conversation. John Kenneth (pseudonym), a State Department employee interviewed for this project, argued “21st century statecraft is using Web 2.0 and wireless technologies to find that last 3 feet in cyber space.” In her first days as Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton proposed 21st Century Statecraft, an opportunity for the United States to engage in diplomatic engagement commensurate with what Murrow envisioned and John Kenneth was working toward (Posner & Ross, 2010). The United States government has a means to make more personal connections with international citizens than ever before and receive instant feedback from those citizens via social media. Traditionally, engagement occurred between governments or between government and the press (Gilboa, 2001, 2008; Posner & Ross, 2010) Now, using new communication technologies, the U.S. State Department has the ability to engage with public audiences in a way that facilitates dialogue, much different from one-way media

This thesis follows the style of *Communication Monographs*.

pronouncements and wires used in the past (Gilboa, 2001, 2002a, 2008; Posner & Ross, 2010).

The State Department is implementing this new form of communication both at the embassy level and from offices in Washington. Individual embassies are engaging with audiences by targeting social media efforts at peoples of interest. As an organization, State has created forums wherein users can interact with officials by posting their views on diplomacy issues, asking questions both of government actors and other citizens. Departments in D.C. and embassies across the globe are working to be seen as leaders in the move toward social media use in government organizations.

The introduction of social media into public diplomacy has, arguably, brought global audiences into dialogue with government actors in ways that are unprecedented. Governments are able to get instantaneous feedback from constituents and citizens around the world. They are also able to create platforms for dialogue amongst individuals who may never have come into contact save for global wired connections and a common interest. Yet, uses of these technologies are reminiscent of State public diplomacy (PD) projects using new media of previous eras, specifically the use of radio. The argument by those inside the organization and without that social media has introduced a paradigm shift in diplomatic operation calls for evaluation using communication theory and using historical accounts of previous technology use. This project evaluated the potential paradigm shift using Ammon's (2001) framework of the progression of communications technology and diplomatic practice. The purpose of this

study was to explore the patterns of use of social media in the State Department seeking to engage ‘non-traditional’ actors in public diplomacy. I examine how public diplomacy offices are redefining public diplomacy efforts using new media by interviewing situated actors in the organization and a content analysis of State Twitter feeds.

Why This Is Important

Understanding public diplomacy efforts using new media is important for the field of communication because communication and diplomacy have an interdependent relationship that can be further theorized. In particular, interpretive theorizing in communication has an emphasis on understanding the realities that are socially constructed by interlocutors (Miller, 2005). As new networks and communities are being created online in public diplomacy, interpretive perspectives in knowledge gathering and in theory construction that explain those realities will add theoretical depth to understandings that are somewhat shallow.

Theory building in communication and new media has begun. Kluver constructed logics for evaluating new media’s effects on international affairs that describe narrative, database and conversational interactions with new technologies (Kluver, 2002). Ammon (2001) described the practice of diplomacy as being closely connected to communication paradigms and communications technologies of any given epoch. He gave examples of diplomats and ambassadors during the prelude to World War I being pressured by the immediacy of response required by the telegraph, the newest communications technology of the time. He argued that shifts in communications technology produce corresponding shifts in the diplomatic process.

A key question for scholars engaging in this work is the notion of control (Ammon, 2001; Gilboa, 2008). They have argued that global communications technology (specifically television) introduced an element of control in the diplomatic process for ‘non-traditional actors’ - namely the public. In old diplomacy, it was unthinkable for actors outside of the elite to be included in the diplomatic process. In fact, Metternich, one of Austria’s 19th century Foreign Ministers regarded the idea of public knowledge and input into foreign policy as “dangerous and fantastic” (Ammon, 2001). Contrast this with the findings of a 1968 congressional committee’s opinion that cultivating public opinion is one of the “principal tasks of statecraft” (Malone, 1988, p.24)

In the age in which we currently find ourselves, public knowledge of foreign policy is not only a given, but governments are now taking it upon themselves to identify demographics of interest to facilitate interaction via new media. State has created blogs, YouTube sites and websites all tailored to reach global publics with messages concerning US foreign policy. They have also elicited feedback with these technologies. Government to individual, and individual-to-individual forms of communication are being incorporated into public diplomacy efforts in State: this project sought to delve into this process interpretively.

Understanding this meaning making will help us understand how different models of diplomacy become understood by the members of the organizations on a day-to-day basis. For example, newly trained officers in the Foreign Service may embrace the opportunities for diplomacy created by the technology while members of the organization with more traditional definitions of diplomacy may not be engaging with

the technology in similar ways. This project also joins other work aimed at understanding nation branding using social media. Nations with problematic or controversial images are using these new technologies to present a new face of the nation (i.e. <http://www.youtube.com/IsraelMFA#p/u/24/P6jDIQr59Sk>).

In order to discuss how public diplomacy may or may not be undergoing a paradigm shift, we must first understand what it is comprised of historically and in the present-day. First, I will explore how the term ‘public diplomacy’ has been used in academic study and define how it will be used in this study. Then I will review the key issues in the charge to 21st century statecraft.

Public Diplomacy Defined

Diplomacy v. Public Diplomacy

... [t]he beginnings of diplomacy occurred when the first human societies decided that it was better to hear a message than to eat the messenger.

(Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, 2010, p. 18)

Tran Van Dinh, a Vietnamese diplomat who explored the link between communication and diplomacy argued that diplomacy *is* communication at the governmental level (Tran, 1987). According to Tran, diplomacy included all types of engagement between governments, policy or otherwise. This broad definition speaks to the same aspects of diplomacy Hamilton and Langhorne (2010) emphasized in their definition of diplomacy as the general business of government interaction: “the peaceful conduct of relations amongst political entities, their principals and accredited agents” (Hamilton & Langhorne, 2010, p. 1). In Black’s (2010) text on the nature of diplomacy, he evaluated these broad definitions of diplomacy and argued that they did not address

the range of activities and actors involved in the diplomatic process. Black discussed three aspects of diplomatic engagement: information- gathering, representation and negotiation.

Public diplomacy, one of the branches of diplomacy, has been conceptualized to include aspects of both information- gathering and representation. The term itself originated with Edmund Gullion, the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in 1965 (Armstrong, 2009; Cull, 2009; Malone, 1988). It is the aspect of diplomacy that involves outreach, information exchange, influence and dialogue with foreign publics and, to a certain extent, persuasion. Over time, different issues have been contested in definitions of public diplomacy. I focus on three key tensions in this study: 1) public diplomacy is public, not private, 2) it is not propaganda, and 3) it is communicative, or involves dialogue. I review each in turn below.

Conducted in the Public

Originally, ‘public’ and ‘diplomacy’ were terms that did not mix. Traditional diplomacy always proceeded behind closed doors (Ammon, 2001). However, the first of Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points introduced a dynamic to diplomatic efforts that brought forth the linking of the two terms. Wilson (1918) called for “*open* covenants of peace, *openly* arrived at, after which there shall be *no private* international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and *in the public view*”(p. 2). This proclamation created an expectation for diplomatic interactions to be held within public view. Uses of the term public diplomacy in this period spoke to the idea that diplomacy should be open to public scrutiny and comment (Cull, 2009). This

first step in opening diplomacy to public comment laid the groundwork for modern day public diplomacy efforts that seek out public opinion on issues of diplomatic import.

Malone (1988) delineated public diplomacy practices into two basic categories: programs aimed at political advocacy and those interested in cultural communication. Political advocacy speaks to those efforts to promote understanding and garner support for U.S. policies while cultural communication is the transmission of American culture to foreign publics. Cultural communication programs involve exchange programs (such as the Fulbright program) and programs seeking to “promote mutual understanding between our people and those of other countries” (Malone, 1988, p. 4).

PD, not Propaganda

Armstrong (2009) viewed present-day American PD efforts as transformed from Cold War efforts to “struggle for the minds and wills of men” to “winning hearts and minds” (p.64), he most frequently cited definition of PD is the Murrow Center for public diplomacy’s definition (Malone, 1988; C. Snow, 2006). Printed in their first guide to public diplomacy, and reproduced in the Murrow Center bio, the term is described as follows:

Public diplomacy...deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of intercultural communications....Central to diplomacy is the transnational flow of information and ideas (“What is public diplomacy?,” n.d.).

According to Malone (1988), the essence of public diplomacy is that direct communication with “people of other countries” can “affect their thinking in ways beneficial to ourselves- and even to them as well” (pp.2-3). He went on to describe public diplomacy’s objective, which is to “influence the behavior of a foreign government by influencing the attitudes of its citizens” (p.3). Audience is one distinguishing factor of public diplomacy where “private individuals or publics, rather than governments, are its immediate target” (p. 3). The audience of interest is always international in nature (Hansen, 1989). The organization never seeks to direct public diplomacy efforts at domestic audiences, but rather, foreign publics of interest. This distinguishes public diplomacy from public affairs (Pirsein, 1970).

In Ambassador Chas. Freeman’s *Diplomat’s Dictionary* (1994) he defined public diplomacy as “advocacy openly directed at foreign publics in support of negotiations or broad policy positions and couched in terms intended to enlist their backing for a particular position or outcome...” (p. 107). Freeman’s discussion of propaganda is important for this study. He defined propaganda as:

an aspect of political warfare consisting of the public dissemination of information intended, whether truthful or deceptive, to promote strategic or ideological objectives. Propaganda may be attributed, i.e., acknowledged to be the product of the state which authored it; unattributed; or attributed to a source other than its true one (p. 313)

This connection between public diplomacy and propaganda has been debated by scholars, practitioners and the general public over the history of public diplomacy efforts. Tran (1987) explained that the U.S. has contrasted the idea of public diplomacy as the “free flow of information” with propaganda movements undertaken by other

nations (p. 48). The aim of public diplomacy in the United States has been to spread and promote Western ideologies of democracy and the free exchange of information. Thus, outreach efforts are framed not as propaganda missions, but as opportunities to provide “pluralistic” discussion of ideas, providing a forum for free speech (p. 48). This distinction has been an important one over the course of the State Department’s history, as many public diplomacy programs have been housed within portions of State concerned with information-gathering. Scrutiny from both domestic and international audiences has questioned whether these efforts have been coupled with information gathering efforts and with propaganda efforts, similar to Axis and Communists powers. In his text detailing the U.S. Information Agency’s (now integrated into the State Department) approach to public diplomacy in the computer age, Hansen (1989) explored the argument that public diplomacy and propaganda are interchangeable terms. State and USIA argued through both public statements and via the reorganization of programs within their bureaus that the primary goal in public diplomacy was to promote the free exchange of information (Pirsein, 1970).

PD is Dialogue

The perspective of public diplomacy as dialogue has been espoused by those within State as well as scholars in the field of public diplomacy (Gregory, 2008). Traditional public diplomacy was, according to Snow (2009), one only concerned with public opinion as a “necessary evil [for] foreign policy” (p. 7). Thus, efforts to engage with domestic or foreign publics on policy or cultural issues were minimal within older paradigms of public diplomacy. According to Snow, traditional public diplomacy was

approached from the perspective of transmitting policy positions to audiences around the world by “build[ing] a case for a nation’s position” (p. 7). Snow went on to argue that in our present age, case making is not enough:

Global publics will not allow themselves just to be talked to, but are demanding fuller participation in dialogue and feedback through the help of Web 2.0 communication technologies and new media like Second Life, Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace. These new media offer interactive back-and-forth engagement that was not even fathomable 10 to 15 years ago... (2009, p. 8)

Hansen (1989) cited Yankelovich’s perspective on public diplomacy as the “creation of dialogue” (p. 2):

As contrasted with traditional diplomacy, which develops relations between governments, public diplomacy establishes between *societies* a dialogue on issues of mutual concern. Its goal is to improve perceptions and understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries (p. 4, emphasis added).

The idea of incorporating dialogue into public diplomacy efforts began in the 1980s for some in the State Department. Malone (1988) described the discussion that took place in the ‘80s in State concerning the call for “two-way” communication in public diplomacy (p. 26). The world climate in which the organization found itself necessitated a “clear understanding of foreign audiences, their attitudes and the complex motivations through which those attitudes were formed” in addition to a clear presentation of the American perspective to those foreign audiences (pp. 26-27). In the early 1970s, a call for public diplomacy involving dialogue began to arise from voices in Washington that believed that “telling our story” was not as important as it had been in previous decades where countering misinformation was a more crucial end of PD (Malone, 1988, p. 27; Pirsein, 1970). These individuals believed that having an understanding of the attitudes

and “complex motivations” of foreign audiences was necessary if the United States was to do effective outreach in public diplomacy (Malone, 1988, p. 26):

... [L]istening as well as talking seemed a good practical prescription for effective communication.... [and] the United States must make greater efforts to develop mutual understanding, to learn as well as teach. Therefore it should concentrate upon the kinds of programs that promote these ends, primarily those relating to education and culture, while reducing, modifying or eliminating many kinds of government information efforts (Malone, 1988, p. 27).

In current diplomatic outreach efforts, the story has not changed. The State Department is negotiating how social media use in PD efforts will be conceived by actors inside the organization and without. State’s negotiations concerning social media are oriented around the concepts of what PD should look like and what it should not look like. Thus, State has presented PD and social media as public, not propaganda and involving dialogue in its policy statements concerning 21st century statecraft. Social media is viewed as a vehicle whereby public diplomacy can reach the ends described above. Through social media, State can begin to dialogue with foreign audiences. Because of its multi-directional capabilities, the technology is also viewed as a means to true public diplomacy and not propaganda. Finally, as social media is (arguably) available to the masses, it is viewed by State as an opportunity to conduct conversations of diplomatic import in the public sphere. Although these are new discussions taking place concerning social media, these same tropes have been a part of State’s perspective on the role of technology in public diplomacy for decades. I discuss a classic exemplar of technology and public diplomacy below.

The Role of Technology

Using technology in public diplomacy is indeed not new. A classic example is the Voice of America radio broadcasts. The United States Government began an endeavor in the build-up to World War I, and in the following post-War era to use radio frequencies to transmit the ‘Voice of America’ to strategic parts of the globe. This voice transmitted American culture and policy to nations that were receiving propaganda information from Axis nations concerning the United States. To counter the culture of what was being transmitted, various offices, under the direction of the Department of State, began an effort to convey the realities of American life to individuals in Latin America, and under the influence of Axis powers in Western Europe. The Voice of America represented a time in State’s history where communications technologies were used to penetrate information barriers. Ideological battles were taking place similar to the ones we see today between Eastern and Western ideologies of democracy, religious practice, and lifestyle. VOA’s charter has been compared with current State Department efforts to connect with various publics via social media (Siefert, 2003):

The long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the peoples of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will therefore govern Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts:

1. VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.
2. VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.
3. VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussions and opinion on these policies. (Public Law 94-350) (Voice of America, n.d., p. 1).

VOA values were concerned with painting a clear picture of American life and policy to nations whose picture may have been distorted. Leadership in VOA felt that short wave radio could be used as a means of “political warfare” (Pirsein, 1970, p. 43). Through the transmission of information, U.S. radio could “tell the truth” about military events. In arguing for funding to be sustained for VOA, Nelson Rockefeller (the so-called grandfather of VOA), held that:

Short wave broadcasting is an indispensable instrument in creating an understanding of the United States...Direct international short wave broadcasting is the only medium that is not subject to foreign censorship or control...(Pirsein, 1970, p. 102)

VOA sought to foster this understanding of American life in multiple ways, including English language development. In October of 1959, VOA began broadcasting Special English programs that reported the news in simple English for those learning American English. Programs, coming in thirty minute segments, reported American news and news around the world, doing so at a slower pace than regular VOA broadcasts. Special English programs quickly became some of the most popular programs of VOA and to this day, remain the most popular. Various heads of State and influential members of society have reported learning and improving their English via Special English broadcasts.

Information Control in VOA

Information control in VOA broadcasts was coordinated in the typical State Department form of clearance through significant levels of leadership in the early years. The primary points in which State provided input and oversight into VOA broadcasting material were in those stories concerned with policy decisions (Malone, 1988). All

programs were required to be cleared through the State Department in writing in the areas of content and radio policy (Pirsein, 1970, p. 31). However, VOA had difficulty receiving guidance from the political desks concerning U.S. policy toward Germany, Russia, Argentina and others. As a result, VOA often reported much of its information from newspaper dispatches rather than information originating directly from the State Department. Further, in other programming areas, such as cultural exchange and outreach, very little oversight, if any, was in place.

This became problematic when VOA had a need to legitimize its funding stream in the post WWII years. After the war, information broadcasting services faced budget cuts, as Congress was re-conceptualizing the use for broadcasting services in a post-Nazi world. By 1947, only 226 employees were still operating across all of VOA (Pirsein, 1970, p. 132). During this period of scrutiny by Senate appropriations committees, transcripts of VOA programming to Latin America were reviewed. During this stage in VOA's history, the majority of programs put forth by the organization were done via private contractors (NBC and CBS were the major networks). During House Appropriations Committee hearings, the Senate asked to listen to a sample of a transcript from VOA's Latin American series. The program in question was not controlled by VOA, but rather by NBC, one of the broadcasting partners with the program. A Cuban author and Venezuelan supervisor managed the program, but no one at NBC or VOA had followed the programs closely. The transcript contained questionable content, and after its reading on the Senate floor, outrage ensued along with significant embarrassment for VOA. NBC and CBS subsequently cancelled their programming

contracts with VOA, and the organization from that point forward handled all programming output in house. In later years, once the transfer to USIA took place, State's involvement in VOA broadcasting activities was indirect, yet still present.

Information control was an issue to be negotiated both in the age of radio and in today's communication paradigm. A tenet of State Department functioning (and diplomatic functioning in general), is control of information released by the organization. Doing so in a coordinated fashion has always been a part of the discussion of how new media is incorporated into organizational functioning. In recent discussions, Alec Ross and others frequently quote Anne-Marie Slaughter, director of policy planning staff at State who often says that "[t]he 21st century is a really terrible time to be a control freak," (Lichtenstein, 2010). These same discussions were taking place in the experimentation of radio broadcasting by State in the early 1940s.

Radio was used by State as a platform through which information could be distributed to strategic parts of the globe. Despite this technology's presence in a previous era, we see present-day technologies, including social media, being used in a similar way. The argument holding that a technology's use is socially constructed is indeed accurate. Technology use in State has been constrained by organizational structures and by history. I now turn to a discussion of State's current venture into new technologies and public diplomacy: 21st century statecraft.

21st Century Statecraft Policy: Exploring Statecraft

After his appointment in April 2009, Senior Advisor for Innovation Alec J. Ross began an international discussion on the concept of 21st century statecraft. His first year

of appointment was spent developing policy and initiatives to support a vision for digital technologies that would aid connections between governments and citizens. In 2010, Secretary Clinton made the first official statement on the goals and vision for 21st century statecraft. The remarks were centered entirely on Internet freedom. A year later, she made another policy statement on the choices inherent to governments in a networked world. These two policy statements formed the planks of the official policy of 21st century statecraft released in March of 2011. It is from these texts that the following discussion on 21st century statecraft stems. The two large planks of 21st century statecraft that this project will focus on are the creation of dialogue, and Internet freedom. I begin with the discussion of the creation of dialogue with global publics, and will conclude with Internet freedom's role in the policy.

Dialogue as Part of 21st Century Statecraft

For the State Department, the rise of widely available, user-friendly communications technologies on the Web has opened public diplomacy efforts to a new realm of interaction. Not only can public diplomacy proceed in the public view, but publics can now interact with governments using widely available social media platforms. In the State Department's 21st century statecraft policy statement, social media is framed as a mechanism that encourages dialogue:

Our diplomats in Washington and at embassies and consulates are being trained and encouraged to integrate both local and global social media as devices to create international dialogue. (U.S. State Department, 2011, p. 1).

In a subsequent forum on social media in Latin America, Judith McHale, Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs argued that new media was an

avenue to “support our commitment to mutual responsibility by increasing accessibility and transparency. [It] allow[s] us to pursue our shared goals in dialogue and partnership. And [it] help[s] us build good will and connections directly between our people (McHale, 2011, p. 1). These connections are sought via social media platforms that are becoming common to the majority of embassies around the world. State is also creating in-house platforms such as Opinion Space and Exchanges Connect to build communities online. The goal is to build connections with individuals with publics of interest with whom State was unable to engage before.

State has not clearly articulated the specifics of dialogue in 21st century statecraft, and in many ways, has narrowed the broad conception of statecraft in the articulation of the policy. Most definitions of statecraft involve the marshaling of *all* resources available to a nation to conduct favorable foreign relations. Ross (2007) described statecraft as:

knowing how best to integrate and use every asset or military, diplomatic, intelligence, public, economic, or psychological tool we possess (or we can manipulate) to meet our objectives (p. 21).

In his *Diplomat's Dictionary*, Freeman (1994) described statecraft as:

the art of advancing the interests of one's state and its people against those of others by either violent or non-violent means. The men and women who practice this subtle and dangerous art are known as statesmen. Those who implement the policies of statesmen by violence are soldiers; those who do so by peaceful means are diplomats (p. 357).

Finally, Crocker (2007) described statecraft as “the art of developing an effective geopolitical strategy and executing it through the intelligent use of all appropriate instruments of power” (p.1). The key idea in each of these definitions of statecraft is the involvement of both hard and soft power. Not just strategic positioning of policy or

effective PR, but the use of all resources available to a nation to achieve its objectives. 21st century statecraft as is being presented currently only involves the soft power of public diplomacy. To further complicate matters, 21st century statecraft is both practice and ideology, yet State does not make that distinction clearly in its policy statements. The practice of the policy is the use of social media and other technologies in building relationships with global publics. The ideology attached to 21st century statecraft is that of Internet freedom. I describe this aspect of the policy below.

Internet Freedom as Part of 21st Century Statecraft

Couched within the State Department discussions of 21st century statecraft are ideas similar to those of the Cold War Era and radio's role in bringing freedom to information starved societies. The call to 21st century statecraft is equally concerned with the creation of dialogue and with "net freedom" (Posner & Crowley, 2011). The United States has positioned itself as an advocate for Internet freedom and has encouraged freedom of access and use as a fundamental human right. Regimes that have shut down Internet operations because of national unrest and calls for democracy have been categorized by State as those who violate the human rights of their citizens. Secretary Clinton described those nations that have adopted restrictive Internet policies as those who will face economic and political costs (Clinton, 2011). State has described Internet freedom as having three essential components:

the human rights of free speech, press, and assembly in cyberspace; open markets for digital goods and services to foster innovation, investment, and economic opportunity; and the freedom to connect—promoting access to connection technologies around the world (U.S. State Department, 2011, p. 1).

Each of these rights is those that America has promoted in physical markets and in physical spaces for assembly that are now being advocated for in cyberspace. I will discuss each in turn.

The freedom of expression in cyberspace is an idea concerned with the right of individuals to freely express views and opinions online without fear of repercussion from those in power. Just as Americans were free to assemble in protest of legislation to which they were opposed in the early years of American society, the USG now wishes to extend those rights to citizens around the world using new media. The State Department has framed freedom of expression in cyberspace as a fundamental human right to citizens of all nations. In her 2010 and 2011 speeches on statecraft in the 21st century, Hilary Clinton described nations that limited the freedom of their citizens to organize and express their views online via as those who violated the rights of their citizens, such as Iran and Syria. Clinton presented the trade-offs nations make between liberty and security in offering freedom of expression in cyberspace. While the liberty to express views online is fundamental, the United States and other nations also must take security concerns into consideration in discussions of free speech. Just as individuals can't proclaim 'fire' in a theater complex or 'bomb' in an airport without legal repercussions, Clinton held that there are also types of speech taking place online that must be monitored for the security of citizens.

21st century statecraft also emphasizes the necessity of open markets online for the exchange of "digital goods and services" (Clinton, 2011). The programs of 21st century statecraft push for freedom in online trade and economic exchange as they lead to

“innovation, investment and economic opportunity” (U.S. State Department, 2011, p. 1).

State has argued that those nations that have open access to the Internet have open dialogue for innovation, unrestricted investment opportunities and unhindered business transactions. According to the policy, spaces for conversation (leading to innovation), such as those that take place in open source software, are possible due to the openness of Internet access in various nations. Those nations that do not grant that privilege to their citizenry hinder their competitiveness in the global market. While Clinton presented China as an example of a nation with restrictive Internet access yet robust economic growth, she argued that in the long-term, the cost for Internet restriction will outweigh perceived benefits.

Third, Internet freedom is comprised of the freedom to connect. State has put programs in place to grant access to segments of the global population lacking access to mobile technologies, or lacking the degree of digital literacy necessary to engage in economic development and conversation taking place online. For example, the mWomen program, a public-private partnership initiated by State, targets women and girls in middle and low-income countries that are behind in mobile phone adoption. The program seeks to facilitate digital literacy and language learning, and provides access to prenatal care and budget management tools (U.S. State Department, 2011). The goal of this aspect of Internet freedom is to provide access to pockets of the world unable to engage in the global conversations taking place on governance, economics and innovation. See Figure 1 for the components of State’s net freedom agenda.

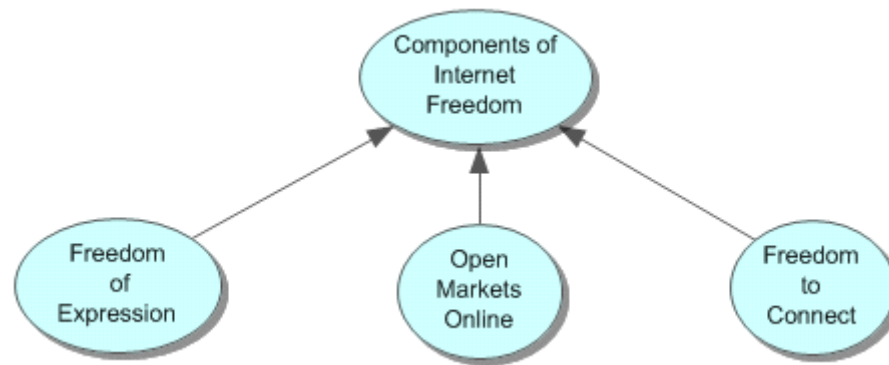


Figure 1 Components of State’s internet freedom policy

Some have problematized this call to democracy and freedom of information within 21st century statecraft. Foreign policy thinkers have argued the State Department has no clear roadmap for the “spillover effects of 21st century statecraft...on the rest of foreign policy making” (Morozov, 2010, p. 1). In particular, Morozov believes the connections between private sector technology companies, such as Google and Twitter, foreign policy think tanks, and policymakers in Washington are akin to those between oil companies and pro-drilling lawmakers on Capitol Hill. Morozov challenged the notion that the Internet is apolitical with an exploration into the types of stakes involved in the close relationships between State and the private sector. Jobs, research grants, international travel and influence in political movements are a few of the factors

Morozov discussed as problematic in the placement of net freedom as a plank of 21st century statecraft.

Communication Paradigms and Public Diplomacy

In the overview of 21st century statecraft released in March of 2011, the State Department held that the Internet has introduced a paradigm shift to diplomatic operation:

Consider three fundamental networks of international relations – trade, communications, and mass media. The infrastructure that conveys goods around the globe has shifted over the centuries from ships to rail to highways. Our communications networks have gone from post to telegraph to telephone. And our mass media have moved from print to radio to television. Today, all three of these systems operate largely on the Internet. It is a triple paradigm shift converging on a common infrastructure. (U.S. State Department, 2011).

Ammon (1998), a communication scholar, made a similar argument in his discussion of what he termed telediplomacy. He argued that the advent of telecommunications technologies changed the practice of diplomacy by collapsing time spent making decisions and space between diplomatic actors. His argument was in the context of global television, yet the same argument is being made by individuals (largely outside the academy), that social media is making fundamental changes to public diplomacy and sparking revolutions. I argue that despite the incorporation of social media into public diplomacy practices, we still see fundamental aspects of diplomatic work from previous communication paradigms and of previous diplomatic eras.

Ammon (2001) held that paradigm shifts in communication are driven by technological development and used Kuhn's discussion of scientific revolutions to frame his discussion. In each of these eras, Ammon argued that the diplomatic process was

influenced at a fundamental level by the communication technology of its corresponding era. For example, the advent of the telegraph, directly affected the speed with which diplomats were forced to make decisions. Ammon held that these shifts in technology have not only produced changes in the method of communication, but have resulted in structural changes in the business of diplomacy, or what Kuhn would call paradigm shifts (Kuhn, 1970). Ammon (2001) argued that paradigm shifts occur when a “fundamental change” occurs in any given discipline (p. 12).

He described three communication paradigms influenced by three corresponding communication technology eras: the Elite Communication Paradigm and the Writing Era; the Mass Communication Paradigm and the Printing Era; and the Instantaneous Communication Paradigm and the Electronic Era. I describe aspects of each paradigm below that will be of use as I discuss the nature of public diplomacy and social media taking place today.

The elite communication paradigm and corresponding writing era is one situated “between Plato and the development of mass printing capability in the 1830s” (Ammon, 2001, p. 16). “Communication via the written word was an elite” endeavor; only the literate could engage in communication and policy discussion of the time (p. 22). In terms of diplomacy, no discussions took place within the public sphere, but were limited to upper echelons of society and to those well versed in the art of diplomacy. The public had no access or input to foreign policy discussions and expected none. Governmental actors viewed wider availability of information to the masses as a threat to power, and thus restricted widespread proliferation of printing presses for a significant time period

after Gutenberg first introduced the printing press to the world. Dialogue was sought only with those in power.

The mass communication paradigm and corresponding printing era was one in which the proliferation of mass printing capabilities shifted access and availability of information to non-elites. Ammon (2001) held that the increasing literacy rates of the population in addition to the availability of newspapers at affordable prices allowed non-elites access to world affairs in unprecedented ways:

Access to knowledge was...becoming less expensive, thanks to mass printing. The price of purchasing a newspaper...dropped to a level that allowed ordinary people to avail themselves of... new information sources. The penny press was putting information into the hands of the masses (p. 23).

In mass communication's pre-paradigm stage, progression occurred in societal ideas of the relationship between governmental elites and the public, and the concept of the free marketplace of ideas. Because the public now had access to daily events taking place in the nation and around the world, ideas were not constrained to societal elites, but were open to the marketplace for all citizens. As such, the fundamental concept of the public's "right to know" started becoming an anchor in American society. Ammon argued that mass communication's shift from pre-paradigm to paradigm state rested on the acceptance of the free marketplace of ideas and the public's right to know as acceptable concepts in society. See Figure 2 for Ammon's description of paradigm shift in technology and diplomacy.

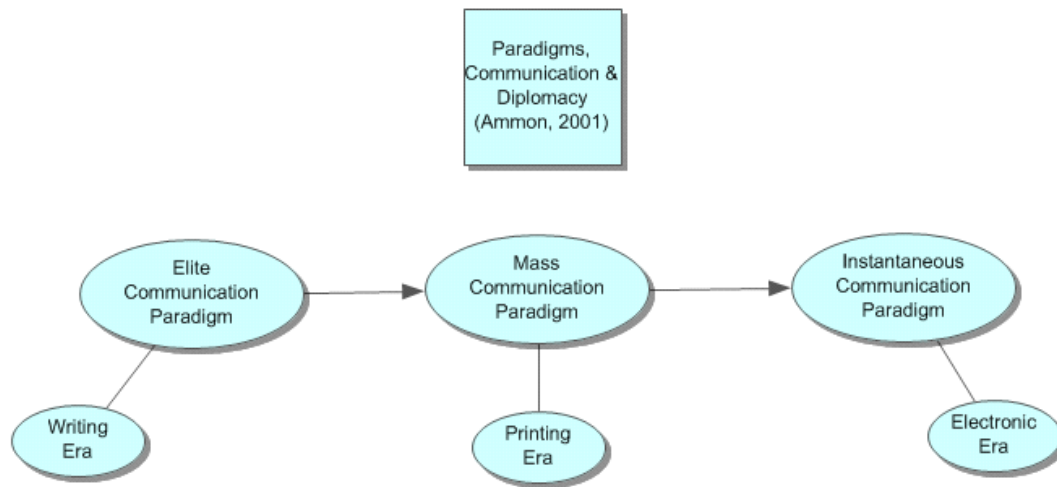


Figure 2 Ammon's framework for paradigm shift in technology and diplomacy

Finally, the electronic era introduced the instantaneous communication paradigm, characterized by a collapse in time and space (Ammon, 1998, 2001). The electronic era's pre-paradigm stage began with the introduction of the public telegraph in 1837. By 1963 the majority of Americans received news via television as opposed to newspaper. Political space had collapsed, with various revolutions sparked by the availability of information from other nations. Shane (1994) made the same argument in his discussion of information's role in the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ammon's perspective on the effect of technologies in the instantaneous communication paradigm was somewhat prophetic: "Personal electronic media may, in fact, pose the ultimate challenge to government control over information" (p. 35). We have seen this statement proven true

in the Soviet Union's collapse, and in the challenging of governmental authority in nations such as Libya, Egypt and Iran in the early 21st century.

In order for paradigm shift to occur, it was necessary that new practices emerge that were "inexplicable" within the current worldview:

A paradigm shift ultimately occurs when new and unique practices emerge that are inexplicable given the existing world view, and when the occurrence of such practices is sufficient to require that a particular discipline must redefine its worldview (Ammon, 2001, p. 13).

Not only do new practices emerge, but the existence of those practices necessitates a shift in "the dominant medium of communication": that is, Kuhn's "critical mass" has been reached (p. 13). Thus, inventions themselves do not facilitate paradigm shift, but instead the preponderance of their use to the point that societal shifts in communication occur. In terms of diplomacy, the actors involved in diplomatic conversation change from paradigm shift to paradigm shift. The introduction of the mass communication paradigm was characterized by a change in actors in conversations concerning foreign policy. Individuals began engaging in thoughtful dialogue with elites via newspaper editorials and letters to the editor (A. R. Kluver, 2002). The new communications technology era provided a means by which interaction between said parties took place in new ways.

This study will systematically explore features of the current paradigm, specifically, the types of dialogue taking place in public diplomacy efforts. These features will be compared with previous paradigms to evaluate the extent to which paradigm shift may or may not be taking place.

Research Questions

This study seeks to gain an understanding of current forms of diplomatic engagement from a theoretical perspective to understand how government-to-individual and individual-to-individual communication on social media platforms may or may not alter diplomacy. The goal of this project is to add to theoretical understandings of digital diplomacy efforts from a specific research site. Scholarship seeking to bridge theorizing in global communications technology and diplomacy is beginning to occur in various academic circles (Ammon, 2001; Deibert, 2002; Livingston, 2002). Ammon described a framework whereby we can conceptualize paradigm shifts within diplomacy in concert with shifts in the eras of communications technologies. This project will explore the patterns of use of social media in public diplomacy. I seek to explore systematic changes in public diplomacy practice within one organization.

RQ1: In what ways does 21st century statecraft represent a paradigm shift in diplomatic operation? In what ways does it not?

RQ 2: What type of dialogue is occurring on these new media platforms?

RQ 3: In what ways is it similar and/or different to State media outreach from previous eras?

New media provide a forum for dialogue heretofore unprecedented in diplomatic engagement. Yet, public diplomacy efforts in previous eras sought to foster understanding in nations of interest using one-way communications technologies, such as radio. I argue that these patterns are still in practice today. From the traditional cable, to radio, to the television press conference, each of these efforts used communication

media that were cutting edge at the time and focused on transmitting the message from the government in mass form to the people. This project is concerned with understanding the real types of engagement and interaction that are taking place on the part of government entities. I want to evaluate the notion of social media providing affordances that were previously unavailable to individuals wanting to engage with the USG. With embassy Facebook pages, YouTube accounts and Twitter feeds, I seek to examine the types of dialogues taking place with foreign publics. When we examine the patterns of use on Web 2.0, I argue that in many cases, the uses reflect one-way pronouncements used in previous communication paradigms. The degree of person-to-person interaction taking place as a result of these technologies is more limited than some in popular culture postulate.

This study was exploratory and performed from an interpretive perspective. In interpretive research, the scholar's goal is to gain understandings of the research settings and participants involved. In contrast, post-positive research arrives at the research setting with hypotheses of the relationships suspected to be occurring on site and will subsequently test those hypotheses. My aim in this research project was to gain an understanding of the environment of public diplomacy in light of the use of Web 2.0 technologies. Thus, I entered the research site with research questions speaking to the specific areas of interest in the project (Harrison, 2005; Lindlof & Taylor, 2010; Yin, 2003a, 2003b). With these new forms of public diplomacy flourishing in nations around the world, there is a gap in the literature conceptualizing how new media provide new affordances for diplomatic interaction. While Gilboa (2002b) has argued that the same

concepts apply in the new media environment that applied in the global television context, I argue that the affordances new media provide are transforming public diplomacy in different ways.

Chapter II describes the methodology used to address the research questions and foregrounds how the data will be analyzed. Chapter III begins with the content analysis of content produced by State on Twitter. The analysis features comparisons with State's use of radio during the Cold War as a platform for information distribution. The second half of Chapter III analyzes the interview data and provides understanding on how State actors are conceptualizing and using social media in Public Affairs offices and in Washington. Chapter IV begins with a discussion of the paradigm shift argument. I argue that paradigm shift has not yet occurred, but we may instead be in a pre-paradigm point of transition in diplomacy. Next, I revisit the research questions in light of both the Twitter content and interview data. Finally, I address limitations and directions for future research and conclude with a discussion of Murrow's vision for public diplomacy.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

In order to garner a fuller understanding the patterns of use of new media in public diplomacy efforts, I explored two sites during data collection. First, I examined the types of interaction new media afford the organization using the Twitter feeds of U.S.

Embassy Jakarta and of Alec Ross, the Senior Advisor for Innovation. My inquiry was grounded in the work of scholars who have developed different markers for dialogue using Twitter (Honeycutt & Herring, 2009; Marwick & boyd, 2010; Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). In particular, Honeycutt and Herring (2009) explored the use of the '@' sign in Twitter postings and the types of dialogues it facilitates on the medium. They described conversational aspects of the Twitter interface, and focused on the notion of addressivity in their analysis of conversation and collaboration taking place on the platform. The use of the '@' sign within posts to indicate a post is directed at a certain user (i.e.

@butterflywings: the new Boca burgers contain no soy products) was the measure of addressivity used in their study. Within their sample of tweets, Honeycutt and Herring found that nearly 91% of English language tweets were posted in the spirit of 'addressivity', indicating that despite the overload of information being posted to the platform, users still engage on the level of conversation in a good portion of use on Twitter. I explored the degree to which this level of connectivity occurred in State Department tweets both in English and in Indonesian.

Second, I spoke in depth with four key actors in State working with social media and public diplomacy. Two individuals were stationed in Washington D.C., and two

individuals were in the Public Affairs offices of their embassy. All used social media as an aspect of public diplomacy outreach. I describe each of the sites for data collection and the corresponding methods used in analysis below. The Twitter feeds and corresponding analysis comprise Study 1. The interview data will be discussed in Study 2. In the concluding chapter, I will discuss how these data complement each other and the implications for theory.

Study 1

Twitter Orientation

The way in which dialogue takes place on Twitter requires some orientation for the unfamiliar user. All interaction on the medium takes place within 140 character posts that a user is limited to in each posting. The medium was developed specifically for short message service (SMS) technology on cell phones, whereby users could tweet their whereabouts to those following them. Users can post what are called tweets to the medium, which can fall under several categories. First, a tweet can be a general posting, not directed at any particular user, but available for friends of a user (or followers) to see, in addition to the general public. Second, tweets can be directed at particular users using the '@' sign in two different ways: @ replies and @ mentions. @ Replies are conceptualized as more conversational than @ mentions (Barash & Golder, 2011; boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010). If there was an article published in the Washington Post about the future of the space exploration program that I wanted to share with a follower working with NASA with the username '@stargazer', I would direct an @ reply to them in this way: @stargazer: WashPost publishes expose on the future of the space program

at NASA www.washpostexpose042911.com. @Mentions are tweets in which a user is mentioned in the in the post. If I wanted to mention a follower in a tweet, but not direct the conversation at them, I might tweet: While reading WashPost expose on the future of NASA, I thought about @stargazer. As noted in the previous examples, usernames on Twitter are always preceded by the '@' sign. Finally, Twitter users can repost, or retweet information posted by other users to their feeds. In order to trace where information originates, users notate that a tweet has been reposted using the notation 'RT'. Thus, if I wanted to retweet something I saw on @Josh's profile, I would do so with the notation: RT @Josh: Institutional theory reaches cult status in Org Comm lit. Each of these notations is used in State Twitter feeds analyzed in the next chapter.

All postings on Twitter are in the public domain and archived for a year. Users can categorize topics within tweets using the hash-tag notation: #. This is a mechanism whereby Twitterers can sift through the large amount of material placed on the platform hourly and daily. For example, I could categorize my previously mentioned NASA posting by placing a hash-tag before the word NASA: @stargazer: WashPost publishes expose on the future of the space program at #NASA www.washpostexpose042911.com. Categories can then be searched within Twitter according to hash-tag notations. Hash-tags can also be used as forms of expression and as tools for trending on the medium, such as #dontjudgeme, #PrayforJapan, or #singleandlovingit.

Each post being analyzed using Honeycutt and Herring's (2009) concept of addressivity is limited to 140 characters. In spite of the limited text available to communicate a message on a Twitter feed, forms of dialogue do take place. I analyze the

frequency and nature of addressivity on each of the feeds. Then, I discuss prevalent themes on each of the feeds, and conclude with a discussion of the types of interactions taking place on the feeds. I begin with the Senior Advisor for Innovation's feed and conclude with Embassy Jakarta's Twitter feed.

I selected a month of postings from each site for analysis: February 1st- February 28th, 2011. Because of the large amount of content posted to the platform over the period of hours and days, many scholars doing Twitter analyses choose protracted time periods to analyze for trends (Barash & Golder, 2011; King, 2009). Alec Ross had approximately 308 tweets while U.S. Embassy Jakarta tweeted approximately 193 times throughout the month of February. Each 140 character post was analyzed for instances of addressivity, that is conversation directed at particular users using the @ sign. Each grouping of text was uploaded to Excel, and broken into two week periods for analysis (Barash & Golder, 2011). Then each set of texts was searched for every occurrence of the @ sign. Tweets beginning with @username were classified as @replies. Tweets that did not begin with an @username but included users in the text of the post or those that began with an @username but were not directed at the user (e.g. @digiphile's discussion of net freedom was particularly compelling; or, reading @AnneMarieSlaughter's blog on net freedom) were classified as @mentions. Some posts were classified as both @replies and @mentions due to their direct address to a particular user but mention of other Twitter users (e.g. @Amaya thanks for the referral to @Mychael's page-very helpful). The feeds were also analyzed for instances of retweeting via a search of the symbol 'RT'. Because the majority of Twitter postings for Embassy Jakarta are in Indonesian,

the Google translator platform was used to translate the postings to English. However, Google translator did not yield a complete translation. Thus, some postings were omitted, or evaluated using surrounding English content. Other tweets are partially translated, and others remain completely in Indonesian. Some examples in the analysis are a mixture of both languages.

Study 2

Second, I interviewed employees at State working with social media and public diplomacy from sites including the Office of Innovative Engagement, and from embassies. Foreign Service agents as well as diplomats were recruited primarily through email but also via telephone, when telephone numbers were available on State websites or through personal contacts. The initial goal was a theoretical sample of three types of employees: newly trained Foreign Service agents, experienced career diplomats, and employees from offices in D.C. These subsets each represented differing perspectives within State that could affect how new initiatives are understood and implemented. However, after my key informant interview, my technique for recruitment changed significantly. He described the structure of the State Department and how employees conceptualize the organization, which affected my method of recruitment.

The State Department can be understood as a large organization comprised of mini-organizations. The Political Affairs arm of the organization is separated into bureaus based upon geographic region: the Bureau of African Affairs, the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs and the

Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. Each embassy is headed by an Ambassador that reports to the Assistant Secretary of his/her bureau. As such, some employees conceptualize embassies and their corresponding bureaus as autonomous units within the larger picture of the State Department. The arrangement of the organization in this manner influenced my method of contact with the organization. At the recommendation of my key informant, I contacted individuals at six embassies for interviews, as opposed to beginning at the top of the organization and moving down as originally planned. I also contacted four offices in D.C. for research interviews as well. I interviewed two from each subset: two public affairs officers at embassies, and two individuals in Washington who work with new State initiatives with social media. These interviews helped me look at these questions from multiple important perspectives, including the perspectives of technology implementation from embassies and from Washington. I was able to discuss the experiences of Public Affairs Officers (PAOs) in the organizational environment of the embassy and contrast those experiences with individuals in Washington working with social media from offices with different functions. I was also able to gain understanding of organizational change and uses of the technology from different sites in the organization.

I used a semi-structured interview protocol to guide my discussion with employees. During the interviews, I asked what employees' mental models of 21st century statecraft were, how they saw it implemented in the field, and different strategies used in the construction and use of social media in PD efforts. I asked how engaging with the various audiences has affected diplomatic decision-making (if at all). I also inquired into

the type of conversations (if any) that take place between decision makers in policy and individuals on PA teams working with social media PD. I inquired into whether conversations with those crafting policy positions translated into changes in how policy is presented in different portions of the world. Due to the nature of the research questions, and my specific interest in the mental models created by employees in State working with these technologies, research interviews were necessary for this study.

The interviews were not recorded. Clearance is an issue that employees in State must contend with. They are often concerned about information shared in the interview being shared publically in inappropriate ways. As a result, I made the decision that interviews would not be recorded so that recording would not hinder my ability to build rapport. All interviews with participants were conducted either via telephone or Skype. I was able to transcribe portions of the interviews in real-time on my laptop especially those responses that seemed most important and insightful. After the interviews were completed, I was able to supplement missing portions of the interviews in greater detail through a process of reviewing my notes (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010). Thus, the data from the interviews consist of my notes taken during the interview, partial transcriptions generated during the interview and fleshed out afterwards, and my own marginal real-time reflections about the interview itself. The quotes selected in the analysis are taken from the partial transcriptions. Quotes were selected for discussion when overlapping themes appeared in each of the other three interviews.

How Were the Data Interpreted?

The Twitter feeds were examined from the perspective of opportunities for dialogue. Honeycutt and Herring's (2009) marker for addressivity, the @ sign, was the particular marker indicating the extent to which dialogue between government and non-government actors took place on each of the feeds. The degree of addressivity and other types of interaction taking place on the feeds (@mentions and retweets in particular) were noted as indicators of the amount of direct dialogue taking place between government actors and constituents. I discuss the content from the Twitter feeds as indicators of the types of issues State finds important to promote on these platforms. I also discuss the content from the perspective of similarities and differences to previous communication paradigms.

Next, the interview data were compared across the various sites in the organization for similar themes and objectives. The objective of the case study was to gain local, emergent (Deetz, 1996; Putnam, 1983) understandings of digital diplomacy. In research originating from the interpretive perspective, the researcher enters the field without a priori propositions of what is occurring in the research settings (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). While the researcher may have sensitizing concepts they anticipate to find in the research setting, the researcher refrains from projecting those concepts onto the research setting. I used the same approach in this case study. The objective is to gain an understanding of this phenomenon in order to add to theorizing in this area.

Interview notes of Foreign Service Officers and diplomats in addition to close examination of organizational texts (Twitter feeds) provided a perspective on how the

organization is approaching the use of social media in public diplomacy. Themes emphasized in one set of texts that were consistent in the other (interviews and feeds) were ones that were discussed in depth in the analysis and discussion sections. The themes in both sets of data were also discussed in the context of similarities and differences to past communication and diplomatic paradigms.

The interview and textual data had converging themes that were integrated in the discussion section. Each piece of data provided a lens through which to understand the phenomena of interest (Ellingson, 2009). The findings in the Twitter text illuminate specific patterns of use on a particular medium. The interview data provided insight into the mental models PA officers have constructed in the use of these technologies. The interviews also bring some illumination to larger organizational structures constraining and defining social media's incorporation into public diplomacy. In the discussion section, these two data sets are both discussed in light of the research questions guiding this study and in light of the three aspects of public diplomacy's definition (communicative, not propaganda, and public).

Interview Protocol

1. We have this statement from Sec. Clinton about 21st century statecraft. In your mind, what is 21st century statecraft?
2. What are examples you have seen of 21st century statecraft being implemented in the field? How did it work?
3. What changes have you seen at the embassy level to accommodate or implement eDiplomacy?

- What's your sense of those changes?
 - Can you think about things you've noticed that you haven't changed despite the push to 21st century statecraft?
4. What do you think the consequences of digital diplomacy and of 21st century statecraft would have for public diplomacy?
- How will it change the relationship diplomats have with constituencies?
 - Do you see this as providing real dialogue?
5. What else should I have asked? / Who else should I speak to?
6. What are the moments where you've seen the most impact with these new technologies?

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

Study 1

My discussion focuses on the patterns of use of social media by government actors to interact with non-traditional actors in public diplomacy. In particular, I evaluate the notion of multi-directional interaction taking place between governments and people. I use Honeycutt and Herring's (2009) marker for interaction on Twitter called addressivity to measure the types of interactions taking place between these actors. Addressivity is concerned with the frequency with which tweets are directed at individuals on Twitter feeds as opposed to informational postings directed at followers, or mentioning followers in a tweet, but not addressing them directly. Below I describe the amounts and types of addressivity used in the feeds of Alec J. Ross, the State Department's Senior Advisor for Innovation, and the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. I found that the amount and type of addressivity was more facilitative than dialogic from non-government actors. What I mean by facilitative is that State sought to create and guide discussion amongst non-government actors as opposed to engaging with non-government actors directly. Instances where State did interact with followers directly are classified as dialogic in this study. I will also discuss prevalent themes that appeared in each such as Internet freedom, and cultural education. I found that overall, direct address to individual users was infrequent and limited to influential users- an elite discourse. The feeds were largely used as platforms for information (re)distribution, similar to uses of previous technologies such as radio, and yet there were new types of interactions taking place. I

refer to information push in the analysis and discussion section as those instances where information is retweeted and pushed to the masses.

Alec J. Ross: Twitter Feed

Alec J. Ross was appointed as the Senior Advisor for Innovation after Hilary Clinton was appointed Secretary of State in 2008. One of the key technology advisers to President Obama's 2008 campaign team, Ross gained notoriety for his background in innovation. In 2000, he and 4 colleagues began a small global nonprofit designed to use technology to bring information about education, health care and the workforce to low income people- it is now the largest of its kind in the world. Ross was one of many high level State employees that operate a Twitter account in both a personal and official capacity. Many Ambassadors have accounts and build their pages with a mix of personal and professional material designed to increase followers and promote the policy platform of the U.S. government. Judith McHale, Undersecretary for Public Affairs explained this sentiment: "A successful social media presence is interactive. It is transparent. And it is personal. Only then can we provoke a response and start a conversation between real people" (McHale, 2011, p. 1). Marwick and boyd (2010) echoed this sentiment in their discussion of strategies used in constructing personal pages that also operate in an official capacity. Ross, being the third most followed USG official behind President Obama and Senator John McCain, was one exemplar of the types of strategies State is employing using this particular platform. Ross had a 345,000+ following on Twitter. He in turn followed only 93 individuals, but each of those individuals had significant influence, with thousands of followers. They are societal elites in the realms of

government, industry, academe and entertainment through social media. Ross was one of the most highly followed users on Twitter- some credit his large following to his status as a recommended user on Twitter's homepage during 2009 (Morozov, 2010).

In the month of February, Ross tweeted 308 times to his Twitter feed. In the first two weeks of the month, the @ symbol was used 49 times. Of those 49 instances, 20 posts were retweets, 24 were @mentions, and 13 were classified as both retweets and @mentions. Only 5 were @replies, directly addressed to individual users. These users were typically followers with close social ties and with high influence in Ross's social network, such as a back and forth between Ross and Jared Cohen, Ross's close colleague in innovation at State before his departure to work for Google in 2010 (Larson, 2010).

@JaredCohen - Sure after Monday's announcement I'll be on a list called "Friends of @JaredCohen" Welcome back to the USA, amigo
Sat Feb 05 2011 15:08:39 (Central Standard Time) via web

Tweeted to Cohen in anticipation of a significant press release the following Monday, this tweet represents one of only a handful of personal dialogues on Twitter Ross engaged in. These were all limited to elites. The only other @replies, or tweets directed at individual users were those who were high profile followers. After @asteris, a citizen journalist, activist, and blogger tweeted a question problematizing social media, Ross replied:

@asteris Of course not. Read what Obama+Clinton have said publicly condemning unprecedented comms blackout. Even mentioned social media
Tue Feb 01 2011 18:29:20 (Central Standard Time) via Twitter for iPhone

In the second half of February, 57 instances of the @ symbol were used in Ross's Twitter feed. Of those tweets, 40 were retweets, 14 were @ mentions, and 31 were

classified as both retweets and @mentions. Only 2 were @ replies, directly addressed to individual users. Another example of the type of direct addressivity taking place on his feed:

@digiphile because showed she was really digging into the content. He said like leaders in 1950s had to become technically fluent re nuclear
Wed Feb 16 2011 16:14:57 (Central Standard Time) via Twitter for iPhone in reply to digiphile

Thus, for the month of February, there were only 7 total instances of addressivity on Ross's feed. Conversation in the form of direct address did not occur frequently, yet we see an abundance of retweets. According to Barash and Golder (2011), retweets are a mechanism whereby ideas can be shared. If a user sees a tweet from another user on a news article, or a piece of information that she would like to share with followers of hers who may not have access, she may retweet the post so that her followers will have access to the information. At least one third, or 104, of Ross's tweets posted during the month of February were retweets, or a sharing of information. Ross's 345,000+ followers were alerted to information primarily concerning the State Department, government use of social media, 21st century statecraft, and Internet freedom. For example, State launched its Arabic language Twitter Feed, @USAbilAraby, during the month of February. Ross tweeted individually about the channel launch but also retweeted the channel announcement on his feed:

USAbilAraby # Egypt # Jan25 recognized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of America's historic role played by social media in the Arab world and we want to be part of your conversations
Wed Feb 09 2011 00:52:26 (Central Standard Time) via webRetweeted by AlecJRoss and 27 others

Sultan Al Qassemi, a prominent commentator on Arab affairs who covered the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings via Twitter has 67,000+ followers. Ross mentioned following his coverage in an NPR interview. The Sultan tweeted about the interview, and Ross retweeted his post:

SultanAlQassemi . @NPR radio interview of US gov official @AlecJRoss discussing my Twitter coverage of Egypt & Tunisia<http://n.pr/dYRPpN> Audio via @habibh
Fri Feb 18 2011 07:42:02 (Central Standard Time) via webRetweeted by AlecJRoss and 15 others

This reposting alerted both Ross's and al Qassemi's distribution networks to the information both wanted shared. Subsequent retweets can spread information exponentially in matters of seconds and minutes in ways that are unprecedented. Ross himself characterized Twitter as an information distribution channel, such as in this February 2nd tweet:

Most recent tweets from @PJCrowley get 100+RTs. Good to see#Twitter serving as a timely, trusted info distro channel from government #gov20
Wed Feb 02 2011 21:36:38 (Central Standard Time) via web

This tweet speaks to a couple of issues. First, PJ Crowley, the former spokesman for the State Department mentioned in this tweet, averaged 100+ retweets of information posted to his Twitter feed. This reinforces the notion that the type of conversation taking place on the medium is perhaps not one of individual interaction, but of information push. Second, it represents one mental model of social media for a particular government actor: a "trusted information distribution channel from government to others". These retweets are reminiscent of State projects with technology from previous eras. The Voice of America broadcasts pushed large amounts of information concerning American life,

policy, and governance. The speed with which information was pushed to the masses was slower, yet the type of interaction created by both radio and social media is similar. Both involve little individual interaction, yet both push large amounts of information continuously to the masses. At its peak, VOA broadcasted programs around the clock. One other theme prevalent in the Ross tweets from the month of February was that of Internet freedom. I turn next to a discussion of Internet freedom; the primary theme appearing in his feed during the selected period.

Posts around the topic of Internet freedom were a large part of Ross's tweets from the month of February. Uprisings were occurring in the Middle East that utilized social media platforms to a large degree, and some governments were threatened by the use of social media as an organizing tool for citizens leading uprisings. The use of social media as a tracking device by regimes in power in addition to social media's restrictions in some nations, such as Syria, prompted a response from the State Department and others to advocate for freedom in cyberspace in addition to democratic freedoms for citizens in these nations. Ross's tweets reflected this position, for example:

I have been briefed that #Facebook can now be used around 100% of the globe in HTTPS. #netfreedom
Thu Feb 10 2011 10:09:12 (Central Standard Time) via web

Strong commitment to #netfreedom RT @caitlinbk: Obama says right to information is a universal right. #Egypt #Jan25
Tue Feb 01 2011 17:59:26 (Central Standard Time) via Twitter for iPhone

"Rigid control of anything is about to face the sunset" write @pllevin+
@drnehret <http://huff.to/emdjxm> #netfreedom #Jan25 #Egypt#gov20
10:45 AM Feb 1st via web

Good New York Times article about social media in #Syria, with my words of caution -- <http://nyti.ms/fKbzmp> #netfreedom
 Thu Feb 10 2011 08:06:55 (Central Standard Time) via web

While this represents a large trend in the platform of 21st century statecraft, it also is indicative of the specific time period from which these tweets were pulled: the beginning of the uprisings. State Department positions and policy opinions could also be found on Ross's Twitter feed, with direct links to the policy statements from State:

We welcome the positive step to allow the "Facebook" and "YouTube" in Syria, but we are concerned that users would be at risk without the freedoms of expression and assembly # Syria
 Wed Feb 09 2011 07:50:19 (Central Standard Time) via web

Ross' feed overall was characterized by the large degree of information push to followers. Given his 345,000+ followers and connections with influential users with large followings, his reach extends to a substantial audience. Now, I examine the Twitter page of U.S. Embassy Jakarta, posted in Indonesian, an exemplar of what level of addressivity is taking place on an embassy feed.

U.S. Embassy Jakarta: Twitter Feed

A cursory glance of the U.S. Embassy Jakarta page yields a bit of a different picture of engagement than Ross's feed, yet it has similarities. A large portion of Embassy Jakarta tweets indicate that posts are informational, not targeting individual users. There are periodic posts of 'Idioms of the day' or 'Words of the week, which give Indonesian nationals opportunities to learn English in small ways while browsing Twitter. These posts are reminiscent of Voice of America broadcasts focusing on English language development. In fact, the goal of creating cultural exchange, as stated in the tenets of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) is replicated on Jakarta Twitter feeds. Just as USIA

brought prominent American entertainers to embassies to bring American life to the nations, focused on English language development, and also communicated information about U.S. foreign policy, Embassy Jakarta tweets seek to accomplish these same purposes. Tweets gave glimpses of different aspects of American life, ranging from Black History Month, to frequent updates on the Super bowl. Each month had a particular theme, with the month of February having a Black History theme. Tweets focused on prominent members in the African American community and were posted to the feed periodically over the month of February:

It doesn't matter who you are, where you come from. The ability to triumph begins with you -- always. – OprahWinfrey #BlackHistory
Mon Feb 14 2011 06:00:07 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

English language development was another prominent theme on Embassy Jakarta's feed. The embassy created a program called 'Tweenglish', where idioms and vocabulary were tweeted once a week related to the themes of the month. In the month of February, words were centered on democracy and freedom. In other months, such as January, the feed had an environmental theme, and the Tweenglish words had a corresponding environmental theme. Unlike extensive VOA or RFE/RL broadcasts, tweets are limited to 140 characters. The technology is constraining State's ability to engage in extensive language instruction as in radio broadcasts. As a result, vocabulary and its use was the primary focus of English development for those following Jakarta's feed. Of course character limitation is not the case in other forms of social media, such as Facebook. However, the guiding principles have not changed in the patterns of use. Below is an

example of the type of English language development used on Jakarta's Twitter feed.

Each Monday, idioms were posted with their corresponding definitions.

#IdiomMonday: GO OUT ON A LIMB = mengambil resiko. eg: Nowadays we are less afraid to go out on a limb to make a change.

Sun Feb 06 2011 23:00:02 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

Idioms were followed by a corresponding use of the word:

You Should GO OUT ON A limb and take a chance = You must be willing to take risks and take a chance.

Sun Feb 06 2011 23:30:02 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

Other cultural aspects of American life were posted, including information about the Academy Awards and information concerning cultural icons in the U.S.:

Academy Award / # Oscars adl award given by the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences to appreciate prof. film.

Sun Feb 27 2011 21:14:09 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

RT @gimmemotalk Monique Coleman volunteering with some beautiful kids in the slums of Indonesia <http://yfrog.com/h6qdwij>

Wed Feb 23 2011 00:30:02 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

Monique Coleman, a youth pop icon and recently appointed UN Youth Ambassador visited Indonesia. Embassy Jakarta brought attention to her visit via retweeting.

Instances of addressivity on Jakarta tweets were also limited. In the first two weeks of February, there were 28 instances of the @ symbol being used in Embassy Jakarta tweets. Of those 28 instances, 14 tweets were @ mentions, 8 were retweets, 8 were classified as both @ mentions and retweets, and only 1 tweet was classified as an @reply, directed at an individual user. Addressivity was a rare occurrence on the Twitter feed of this embassy. As was the case with Ross's feed, the bulk of engagement on the medium with individual users (who often represented embassies, or were major

figureheads) was via retweeting. Posts on U.S. policy, including Internet freedom were also included in Jakarta feeds:

#SecClinton: Together, the freedoms of expression assembly & association online comprise what I call the freedom to connect.#netfreedom
Tue Feb 15 2011 22:35:01 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

What distinguished Embassy Jakarta was the large amount of time spent engaging in cultural exchange via language development and information about American culture and life. Also, as embassies are situated within communities, Jakarta used Twitter to reach out to the community and bring individuals in to the embassy that otherwise would not have access. They sought individual interaction and connection using contests to bring Indonesian nationals into the embassy. For example, a contest was held where the embassy would post 15 questions live to Twitter at a particular time and the winner was selected to tour a US Navy ship:

GIFTS Want to tour the U.S. Navy ship? Look forward to tweet our 12 o'clock today! We will choose the winner with 15 correct answers
Sun Feb 20 2011 21:00:06 (Central Standard Time) via HootSuite

The primary instances of addressivity from the selected month of tweets were instances where the embassy sought to make in-person contact with constituents and followers. The goal in these instances was to make personal contact- crossing those last three feet, as Edward Murrow described the purpose of public diplomacy. Thus, contests were oriented to bring in locals residing in the capital city into the embassy and were also tools whereby the embassy could connect with individuals outside of Jakarta. Yet, instances of this occurring on the embassy Twitter feed were limited overall. This is surprising as contrasted with Alec Ross's feed. The pattern of addressivity occurring on

Ross's feed is one of elite discourse. Back and forth engagement is generally limited to those individuals with high levels of influence and large followings on Twitter. The conversations taking place are not necessarily private in nature, yet they are likely witnessed by hundreds of thousands of followers. Overall, Ross's feed was a platform for information (re)distribution. Jakarta's feed, focused on an individual capital city and its surrounding nation, was more surprising in its lack of individual engagement. This could be complicated by a few factors. First, the adoption of these technologies is compelled by institutional pressures (Lammers & Barbour, 2006). Many embassies are adopting the range of social media platforms (YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, Flickr, etc.) because it is "the thing to do", yet continue to use the technologies in ways consistent with previous communication paradigms. As a result, PA officers are juggling time spent managing multiple platforms. Because it's a multi-faceted and fragmented space, they are forced to make choices between which platforms to use and how. Jakarta is no exception, and has chosen to focus much of its efforts in Facebook. This focus could be why instances of addressivity are so few on the Twitter feed.

Study 2

Accounts of Situated Actors

I spoke with four individuals in State that work with social media as part of State's public diplomacy outreach. Two individuals were stationed at embassies in Public Affairs (PA) offices, and two individuals were in offices in D.C. I assigned pseudonyms of influential players in diplomatic history to each person after the interview. I describe

each person and their role as an employee below. Florence¹ was stationed at an embassy that I refer to as Embassy Halcion. The embassy's Public Affairs team had grown its social media influence after Florence's arrival to the embassy in October of 2010. "In friendly competition" with another embassy in the region, Embassy Halcion focused its efforts on Facebook, building a community of upwards of 25,000 fans. Raoul² was stationed at an embassy I refer to as Embassy Hariri and had a 200,000 + facebook following at the time of our interview. His embassy was held in high regard in State as one of the more successful embassies using social media in public diplomacy. Shirley³ was an employee at State located in D.C. in a new office created to provide support for embassies using social media. Her two-year-old office had been involved in arranging many of the social media aspects of President Obama's visits to Africa and Indonesia. She trains incoming and existing officers in the Foreign Service on how to use social media effectively and strategically. John Kenneth⁴ was also stationed in D.C. and managed one of the State Department's stateside Facebook pages with an international focus. The page had grown to an extremely significant number of fans (upwards of 250,000) from a variety of areas in the globe, with India and Indonesia as the top two nations represented. Much of John Kenneth's time was focused on strategies to engage his constituents in discussion on the page.

¹ I assigned pseudonyms reflecting the names of important figures in PD. The influential figures representing each participant were selected because of notable character attributes that, to me, resonated with each participant. Florence Harriman was a social reformer for women's suffrage and later, a highly influential diplomat assigned to Norway.

² Raoul Wallenberg was a Swedish humanitarian renowned for his assistance in Hungary to Jews escaping the Holocaust.

³ Shirley Temple Black was a child actress known for her later political activity and ambassadorships to Ghana and Czechoslovakia

⁴ John Kenneth Galbraith was a prominent intellectual in economics who served as US Ambassador to India under JFK

The trends in the conversations with these Public Affairs officers and those engaging in public diplomacy efforts from D.C. were oriented around three themes: the patterns of use of the technology, issues arising in the organization as a result of the use of the technology, and the nature of the interactions taking place on social media platforms.

Technology

Mental models of diplomacy

Far from pop culture discussions of the revolutionary nature of social media technologies, employees with whom I spoke at State were moderate in their assessments of the effects of 21st century statecraft. Their conceptions of the effects and potential outcomes of social media incorporation into organizational life were not deterministic in nature. Each of the employees working both at the embassy and in D.C. did not see social media as the catalyst toward revolution and change in the field of public diplomacy and in international politics, but instead as a tool for change. This assessment appeared in Twitter feeds, in press releases from the Secretary, in interviews in the public sector and in my conversations with State employees. In a February 2011 interview, Alec Ross argued in regard to the revolutions taking place in the Middle East that he didn't believe they were "'Facebook revolutions, or Twitter revolutions, or technology revolutions', [but that] they were people based revolutions. Technology and social media is [sic.] just a tool. Now, they're very powerful tools, but just a tool" (Ross, 2011). Secretary Clinton echoed this sentiment in her February 2011 speech on Internet freedom:

There is a debate currently underway in some circles about whether the Internet is a force for liberation or repression. But I think that debate is largely beside the

point. Egypt isn't inspiring people because they communicated using Twitter. It is inspiring because people came together and persisted in demanding a better future. Iran isn't awful because the authorities used Facebook to shadow and capture members of the opposition. Iran is awful because it is a government that routinely violates the rights of its people.

These perspectives also appeared in my interviews with State employees that work with social media. When asked about the type of social media training incoming Foreign Service officers receive, Florence, who worked with social media at an embassy held that State made no qualms about social media's role as a tool:

One thing that they made clear is social media and all of these tools are just that. They're great tools and great platforms, but I don't think anyone is under the impression that they're going to replace more traditional [types of diplomacy]. They're more to supplement or to enrich. None of us in our office spend all of our days on Facebook. We don't have a dedicated social media position. It's the idea that it's something that can complement what we're doing on a person to person basis.

At Embassy Hariri, when describing the value of content posted to social media, Raoul related that "as fun as these tools areyou really have to invest the time in person to person diplomacy". Individual, person to person diplomacy has always been the focus of public diplomacy. As John Kenneth described when asked what his conception of 21st century statecraft was: "it's the same as 20th century statecraft, but with a wireless connection".

Social media strategy based upon infrastructure

The strategies for how embassies and offices in D.C. did outreach was based upon infrastructure in addition to other techniques recommended to build an online community. Embassies would focus on one particular social media outlet based upon the community they sought to reach. For example, Embassy Hariri focused in particular on

Facebook because of the widespread availability of mobile phone technology and cheap bundling of web access with mobile phones in their host nation. 80% of phones in the country are WAP (wireless application protocol) enabled, and mobile phone companies have, according to Raoul, packaged “web access in very cheap ways”. Raoul also described the environment as having the freest press of the nations in its region. These facets of infrastructure have enabled this embassy to build a substantial online community. Another example of infrastructure driving strategy was State’s use of radio broadcast to promote President Obama’s speech to Africa in July of 2009. Shirley was part of the team that constructed the SMS campaign to reach out to Africans. State partnered with ClickaTell, a mobile messaging provider, to facilitate text messages sent in to participate in the town hall presentation, that the President would address (Butcher, 2009). Shirley was impressed by the 15,000 messages State received in different languages as a result of the marketing done via radio and through the embassies around the continent.

Raoul of Embassy Hariri emphasized the time and planning necessary to construct an effective Facebook page. His particular embassy posted only once a day to their Facebook page in order to “maximize [their] interaction” and have a “message [that] resonate[d]”. In terms of the content posted, the PA team had multiple goals in mind. First, the themes of the content posted were in line with ideas that the USG wanted to promote in the region and around the world. Interestingly, Raoul noted that the State Department was not:

...brainwashing [fans by using this strategy]. We pick themes that we want to promote [such as] entrepreneurship and environmental stewardship... We’re not

pushing something that the [local] government is against. They're all tenets of a bilateral partnership.

The second goal in mind for Embassy Hariri was to “integrate [their] audience with the rest of the world”. Via facebook and Twitter postings, the embassy sought to have constituents feel as if “they are a part of the global community”. Thus, in planning posts for the week and month, the social media team at Hariri aimed to have posts coincide with international and embassy events taking place. In addition, they sought to frame local happenings within “a larger context”. For example, on the day of our interview, the team posted information about World Health Day (post has been translated):

What can you do to maintain the health of the community around you?

Today we celebrate World Health Day. Health is a very important sector, particularly for Hariri which has a population of 220 million inhabitants. The theme of Health for Hariri in 2011: Antibiotics Use By Right To Prevent Germs Immunity.

Let's improve public knowledge about health and is committed to improving health outcomes, especially in remote areas

For Raoul, the key in building effective facebook pages was planning:

You can't just show up at work on a particular day and scratch your head and think about what will be effective... We try to come up with creative ways to engage with [our audience] on important issues

State is choosing which social media platforms to use based upon the infrastructure of the region. In Africa, mobile phone technology and radio were the means by which to garner the most attention and interaction with the populace. At Embassy Hariri, the cheap bundling of mobile phone technology made Facebook the primary focus for the social media outreach team. As Shirley relayed, the goal for State is to find where the conversation is taking place, and to go there. In Japan Twitter is the platform of choice

for the people there, thus, State's Tokyo embassy focused the majority of their efforts on Twitter.

Platform choice and platform integration were also driven by questions of infrastructure. Each embassy faced external institutional pressures to adopt the full range of popular social media platforms (YouTube, Flickr, Twitter, Facebook, etc.). The pressure to adopt worked in concert with choices driven by the infrastructure of a region. PA officers had to make choices as to which social media platform their embassy would focus its attentions based upon what citizens in the region were using but also because other embassies were beginning to adopt social media. As Florence mentioned in her interview, she and her embassy are in friendly competition with another embassy of their region as to who had the largest Facebook fan base. The push to reform the strategies being used to build community on Facebook may have been driven in part by the success deemed by organization leaders of the other embassy in the region. Shirley spoke about the pressures to adopt that sometimes result in uses of the technologies that are not effective. In the training sessions she conducts with Foreign Service Officers, she emphasized the strategies necessary to build what State has deemed a thriving online community; it is not "just throwing up a facebook page and not having the resources to back it". Not only is platform choice an issue to be handled by PA offices, but because of the multiple platforms being used, PA officers must also grapple with platform integration. Raoul and Florence both focused their embassy's attentions on Facebook, but still managed a host of other social media sites.

Organization

The use of these technologies has affected the nature of the organization and its response to puzzles that arise as a result of engagement with the public using social media. The questions with which State has wrestled in technological development are the ways in which the technology adapts organizational functioning and the ways in which organizational functioning adapts the use of the technology. These tensions appeared in my conversations with those in public affairs and in Washington. Of note were questions of voice, information control, and doing ‘in-reach’ within the organization to those lacking understanding and openness to the technology adoption.

We’re not content generators- we’re content managers

The role of a Public Affairs officer in an embassy (or one stationed in Washington) is not to specialize in policy but to accurately convey the policies of the USG to foreign audiences in productive ways. However, in the midst of beginning vigorous conversations on the subject of policy, audiences may probe in areas that individuals such as Raoul, don’t want to speak to. He says “one thing that people don’t understand is that as Public Affairs officers, we’re not content generators, or content specialists, we’re content managers”. He gave the example of the recent situation in Libya from the perspective of a Public Affairs office stationed in a majority Muslim nation:

As a primarily Muslim country, their perspective on various policy positions tends to be very different from ours. They argue that if you’re not protecting civilians in Palestine, then why are you protecting civilians in Libya?

Raoul expressed some discomfort with engaging in deep policy discussions with constituents, but instead conceptualized his role as that of a content manager. John Kenneth also described his perspective on the business of being a content manager:

I follow the lead of the President and the Secretary of State and I quote them...I personally don't give my own...opinion or argument. But I pick and choose words from the President, the Secretary, [and] their press spokespersons that I hope will help to answer the questions...I seldom put in comments of my own once the discussion has started....As a community manger, choosing what quotes to use is very important...Many people are not going to bother to read a whole transcript or watch a whole video, but they will read the one or two sentences that you quote in a post. Choosing those sentences is key in terms of advocating the point of view of my government.

The goal was not for PA officers to shy away from tough policy discussions, but often the challenge was a lack of comfort with the intricacies of policy discussion sought out by members of the facebook or Twitter community. The solution for many was staying as close as possible to official policy statements released by the Secretary or the President, or to frame the discussion in such a way that others in the community could discuss amongst themselves. Florence described this balance:

We don't censor ourselves...we'll make comments here and there in keeping with whatever official policy is, and clarify or explain...[but] mainly we just try to keep it a space for open dialogue.

We don't use that 'C' word

Another of the primary challenges in the incorporation of social media and technology in State is how information is controlled and released. With incidents like the Wikileaks exposure of confidential State information, the organization has been negotiating how information will be controlled as new technologies are incorporated into the daily functions of diplomacy. Employees with whom I spoke often mentioned

clearance as an item for negotiation in the use of social media. Clearance is the process whereby information, in the form of interviews, press releases, material published and posted online, etc. is controlled and released by State. PA officers in the embassies and in Washington discussed what I termed control as clearance:

You use the phrase control...we don't use that word. We talk about clearance. 'Oh you've got to get clearance on that'. But for some reason, we don't use that other C word, that control word.

The organization is adjusting to the technology as it proliferates and is creating norms for operation. At the moment, those rules differ based on the embassy. In some embassies, the Ambassador's assistant clears all information posted on social media sites, while in others, clearance is at the discretion of the Public Affairs officer. Florence describes the clearance process at her embassy as one that is handled through who is granted administrator privileges on the Facebook page:

What we do in terms of controlling what's posted, anyone who's an administrator has visited with me or the PA officer (who is my boss), and has had a conversation concerning the policy of our Facebook page... We just lay out what our philosophy is, and make them administrators. We are in control of who the admins. are, and that's how we control what's posted. I don't feel like I have to go to my boss and say 'Hey, do you think I should post this'... For us, it's been informal...there's not a super formal clearance process

Shirley, who works at an office in Washington that provides support for embassies' social media projects, described her perspective of the clearance process for State and held that "they can't be as rigid as they used to be". She described the struggles PA officers encounter in the posting of materials and elaborated on counsel she has shared:

If it's already an official statement? You can take that and run with it in your Facebook. There's no clearance necessary when it's an official statement that has already been released... You have to be careful and you can't be flippant and you can't just put something out there.... There have been concerns about making

sure...things aren't posted that may be a security issue that we really try to sensitize people on.

Shirley always reassured new trainees that wanted to forego using social media completely that they *should* use the technology, but be mindful of security concerns, and get the correct permissions from the right people before posting certain types of information. John Kenneth, a 30 year employee at State has observed trends of information management in the organization:

I've been working in public diplomacy for more than 30 years and my father was a diplomat. And I've seen public diplomacy in action for a long period of time. I notice that there are long pendulum swings of how much control or how little control there should be...It's our job to support the policy of our government, of the administration. I'm not going to publish anything that goes against those policies. But, if someone else writes a comment that is in opposition to those policies, I'm not going to delete it either... But we do welcome more than one point of view and we do use more than one source of information, so in that sense, there has, along with the growth of social media, there has been a willingness to open up.

Information gathering

Public diplomacy as information gathering was not occurring. In fact, Raoul expressed outright aversion and discomfort with using social media as a means to monitor sentiment amongst citizens of his host nation:

Some people see using these tools as an opportunity to do public opinion polling, and I'm very wary of that...If people get a sense that we're trying to mine them for information, then they'll just go away. All it takes is to click the X, and we lose a fan on facebook. If people want to do public opinion polling, then you go pay a contractor to do it....I don't see other embassies doing public opinion polling

While public diplomacy does still involve the monitoring of political currents of host nations, it appears that embassies are not directly using social media to tap into the pulse of nations. The information is used in very specific ways, which in Hariri's case tend to

be solely limited to community building efforts. PA officers are aware of the trending topics of their constituency and speak to those only to foster vigorous conversation amongst the online community. Florence's embassy is located in an area in the globe where traditional male roles are predominant in the society. An influential female citizen of the country announced a run for a top political position. Florence's team posted a question asking the community if they felt the US would ever be ready for a female president, with a link to Hilary Clinton's announcement to run for the presidency in 2007. The comments generated from that post were not used to monitor the pulse of the nation but were used only to generate comments from fans. Vigorous engagement and discussion amongst constituents was almost always the goal for PA officers using social media.

Doing 'in-reach'

Another challenge of implementing social media at the embassy level is a lack of understanding from employees within the embassy of appropriate uses for the technology. Thus, Raoul termed one of the activities they spend time doing in the PA office as 'in-reach':

Because social media is such a buzz word and people have all of these ideas of what can be done with it that may or may not be accurate, we spend time doing 'in-reach'. We're explaining to our own embassy what we're doing. We have to explain [our strategy]...to people at the embassy who say 'Oh, we can post this press release, or this video to our page'. They haven't really thought about what it means to reach a large group of people and what managing a community looks like.

Florence emphasized the lack of understanding of the implementation of social media and its corresponding uses:

You could look at it from the perspective of resistance to change. If you're looking at it from that perspective, there are some people in the embassy who don't necessarily understand the benefits of social media, so there's some people that aren't going to understand...[and] some people aren't willing to work with the change.

Florence's particular embassy chose to address this issue by approaching heads of the divisions within the embassy such as USAID, the Foreign Commercial Service, Consular Service, and others, and gave them the opportunity to collaborate on the building of the embassy Facebook page. The Public Affairs office did not want the page to only represent their division, but to be representative of the entire embassy. As such, they collaborated with other offices to anticipate various needs of the audience and to the extent possible, address those needs on the Facebook page. This activity accomplished two purposes: it taught key players within the embassy the purpose and uses of social media in public diplomacy outreach, but also equipped the PA officers in how best to construct the page in anticipation of local needs. With those needs in mind, I move to the primary needs of foreign audiences in interacting with the US embassy and how those needs conflicted with social media strategies and goals.

One of the primary needs foreign audiences come to US embassies with is getting the information necessary for themselves or for loved ones to reach the United States. As a result, many followers or fans seek out relationship with the embassy via social media to acquire information concerning visas, passports, and US citizenship for them or for their families. As Raoul of Embassy Hariri related, "80-90% of inquiries we get back are requests of this nature [consular requests]". Florence described this as one of the primary issues in constructing effective Facebook pages:

By opening yourself up on Facebook, you can't control the type of comments that you're going to get necessarily. What that means in our particular context is the large majority of questions that we get are about visa cases...Because the population wants so much wants to immigrate or travel to the US, the number one topic on their mind is visas. That's hard to communicate about in specifics... 'My aunt so and so is trying to petition to bring my cousin to the US, how much time will that take?' It's difficult to have the staff power to answer those questions, and the consular office [already] has established channels... We have a Word document with standard responses, or we direct people to embassy resources on the web site, or the visa hotline. You don't know what type of questions you're going to get when you open up, and you want tobe interactive with people but not have it eat up your whole day.

Florence spoke to a number of challenges here. Her embassy had a particular theme for the content being posted to the Facebook page, yet made a decision to allow fans to post to the page. What that decision resulted in was a driving of content on the page not by the embassy but by fans. Embassy Halcion's PA team was negotiating the tension between multi-directionality and control of content. Another challenge was an inability to engage with the community due to limited staff. Raoul described similar challenges at Embassy Hariri:

You get to a certain point where it's not feasible to have one on one engagement with the real community....If 10% of our community decided they wanted to ask an individual question, that would be 3900 people... We don't expect that it's going to be one on one for everybody. We try to have back and forth exchanges as we can, but it's impossible to do that.

State has been constrained by limited resources and the exigency contingent with the advent of these technologies. Individuals in the community expect responses, and expect them more quickly than ever before. Large online communities are built by State, yet these communities are not sustained by dialogue but instead by facilitation. The uses of the technology are very specific, and those uses do not include discussions concerning citizenship, or general consular requests. PA officers can manage dialogue within

specific windows of time; otherwise, interaction is not feasible given the size of the communities being managed. I discuss the nature of the interactions in further detail below.

Interaction

Evaluating multi-directional technologies

The State Department's conception of addressivity using social media differs from Honeycutt and Herring's (2009) definition. The strategy that became apparent in conversations with PD officers was that of beginning a discussion, and allowing followers to engage. This was particularly the case on State Facebook pages. Though Raoul described the possibilities of using "technologies that are not just push, but are multi-directional in nature", the flow of conversation was not necessarily on a government-to-people level, but rather on the level of people-to-people. Officers selected topics that were of interest both to selected audiences and to the US government, and posted material on Facebook pages to that effect. The role of PD officers using these platforms, according to John Kenneth is to "spark conversations and discussions on topics" that are of interest to selected audiences and reflect the values of the US government. John Kenneth went on to say that:

I think about my audience, I think about the issues that are of interest to the Department of State...and I start discussions about things that both parties will find interesting.

Shirley said that 21st century statecraft is about "a conversation: press releases have their place, but we want to get conversations going". However, these conversations are usually not on the level of government-to-people. PD officers consider themselves

successful if people begin to engage (amongst themselves) on a post or idea put out there. Thus, as Raoul described, “dialogue for us is putting an idea or concept out there and seeing it take shape and form”.

Partnership with the private sector

Partnership with the private sector was a large factor in the social media strategies of embassies. The goal for community managers was to connect with influential subsets of their audience of interest. Influential audiences within the network were sought out for a number of reasons. First, with influential players following State Twitter feeds, what Raoul called the “multiplier effect” comes in to increase State fan bases. If individuals with large followers are State fans on Twitter, then the organization has the opportunity to influence broader audiences via retweeting. Raoul describes this subset as “the digerati”:

They’re entrepreneurs, they’re well-read and they’re really fun to hang out with... We work hard to connect with these people and they critique our content and tell us what works and what doesn’t...

Just as in previous communication paradigms, an elite audience is being sought out in the formation of diplomatic strategy. Whether these elites are financial elites, or if they are elites in the sense that they have a large degree of digital access and literacy, they are still singled out by government actors as those with whom to engage in the building of public diplomacy strategy. As was evidenced in the Twitter feeds, instances of addressivity were more likely to occur with individuals or groups with large degrees of influence, either technologically or in the material world.

The conundrum inherent in this strategy is that although conversations with elite are happening to increase the base of individuals to whom State can interact with, the interactions that eventually take place lack depth in many cases. The “regular” citizen is now able to engage in diplomatic discussion unlike in previous communication paradigms due to accessibility of technology. However, those discussions often take place on the level of people-to-people. Raoul expressed a comfort with the fact that although individual communication with these audiences is not a possibility outside of finite time periods (such as live chats on Twitter), he still appreciated the ability to reach atypical audiences: “Even if we’re not communicating with the kid in Hondo (pseudonym) I still like the fact that we’re able to reach the kid in Hondo.

Building a community

I asked each of the employees with whom I spoke to describe moments where they have seen the most impact with the use of new media in public diplomacy outreach. Raoul gave three measures for success that other employees echoed in their interviews: 1) are people engaging with the material being posted, 2) the size of the subscription base and 3) meaningful interactions taking place on the medium. The question of how to measure success in public diplomacy whether it is via radio broadcast, newspaper editorial, or television interview is not new. Raoul related that this is a question that PA officers have struggled with for decades: how do we know we are being effective? Thus, I discuss each of these measures not necessarily as indicators of success, but of indicators of the type of online communities State seeks to build. I begin with the level of engagement with material being posted.

For PA officers, the degree to which people were retweeting content on Twitter or interacting with material posted on State Facebook pages was a measure for success. As Raoul related, if material is “not retweeted, or if no one is interacting with material posted on our Facebook page, then it’s not effective”. In measuring Twitter effectiveness, the fact that retweeting, or information redistribution, was a measure for success is significant. It indicates how the medium is conceptualized by key players in the organization as not necessarily a multi-directional technology but one that is used to push information to large groups of individuals. In many ways, this is similar to how radio was used by the USG to push American ideals and policy to audiences who may not have had access to the material. Florence also echoed the importance of interaction with content posted to her embassy’s facebook page:

As administrators you have to be careful that you’re posting things that have the potential of creating real dialogue...On our daily posts, we do try to do some things that generate comments from the fans.

The role of the PA officer, then, is to spark discussion amongst followers around the world. John Kenneth and colleagues of his in State have begun to refer to themselves as community managers. The term is not an official one listed on personnel records, but for those using the term, describes what they do on a number of levels:

It’s a new term- it’s new to us...It’s not my formal job description, but more and more people understand what it means and I have been using it for about a year...I and some other folks have developed a global cyber-community of people who all belong to particular facebook pages...It’s my role as a community manager to spark conversations and discussions on topics that are of interest to them and reflect the values of my country and my government

Managers of these online communities facilitate conversation, but rarely provide personal voice. If participation does happen in the conversation, or a conversation is sparked, it is with the words of senior administration officials via official statements. Or it is with the intent to spark conversations on topics important to community members and to the USG. John Kenneth's community is comprised of a large percentage of African users, thus, John Kenneth began discussions on the elections taking place in Nigeria as opposed to focusing on American elections. Public diplomacy officers are facilitators and redistributors of information.

The second measure for success employees drew on was the degree to which the subscription base for Facebook or Twitter feeds was growing. Every interview included a narrative detailing the strategies the PA officers used in growing their fan base on social media platforms. Florence described the process whereby her embassy grew their fan base from approximately 1300 fans to 30,000 in a matter of months. John Kenneth manages a Facebook page of more than 250,000 fans. He related that via targeting particular audiences, his D.C. managed page grew over the course of a year. When asked about how his embassy measures success, Raoul held that he wasn't "apologetic about the fact that 200,000 is better than 100,000". In information distribution, numbers are the primary measure of effectiveness. However, Shirley in Washington, who provides support for embassies using social media held that: "it's not just about the number of fans you have. How are people interacting with you and engaging with you? We try to tell them that it's about the interaction". PA officers also discussed and gave examples of

the type of interactions taking place in their social media projects as some of the most rewarding and effective aspects of their work. I now turn to these types of interactions.

The third measure for success and community building was creating meaningful interactions on the medium. While Raoul argued that numbers were an important measure of success and effectiveness, he mitigated that perspective with the idea that promotion of American ideals was the ultimate goal in PD using social media: “It’s not just a numbers game....it’s more about...people seeing the kind of things that we stand for...”. Raoul gave the example of a Ramadan contest held on Facebook where fans were invited to participate in an essay contest detailing what Ramadan meant to them. The winners of the contest were invited to an iftar dinner with the Ambassador and influential members of the community such as political contacts and celebrities. The dinner was an opportunity for regular citizens to come into contact with individuals that they normally would not have had access to. He went on to describe the impact:

This struck a chord on a number of levels. First, fans were surprised at the embassy’s interest in Ramadan to begin with. It also provided an opportunity for fans to interact with the Ambassador...

Raoul said the winner of the contest went back to his blog after dinner and wrote about his excellent experience with the Ambassador, individuals in the embassy, and members of influence in the community. He related with satisfaction that “[t]he best kind of public diplomacy is someone writing great things about you in their own voice”.

Florence’s embassy organized several contests all designed to make personal and meaningful connections with their constituents. The first was a book contest designed to bring in young locals to the embassy who would not have otherwise had access. The

embassy owned twenty copies of President Obama's The Audacity of Hope. Florence's team posted to the embassy facebook page, promising a book to the first twenty respondents: the books were gone in a matter of minutes. From this experience, the PA team decided to begin virtual book clubs to encourage literary engagement and discussion amongst youth of their host country. The virtual nature of the book clubs gave citizens outside the capital (where the embassy is located) an opportunity to engage.

Florence also described a photo contest held on her embassy's facebook page during Women's History Month. The contest was designed to make personal contact with constituents in the local community, and increase the fan base of the page. Individuals emailed the embassy photos honoring women in their various roles in the family and in the community. Florence describes the contest as meaningful and leading to personal contact with contestants and with the community, yet also drew on effects the contest had on fan base:

We had them email our photos...with a name and a caption...Instead of having a panel of judges judge the photos, we chose the winner by number of likes. What it did was, people started tagging all 150 of their friends in [the photos to increase votes]If you look at our facebook insights in March, there was something like 3000 new fans in the month of March....The way that this is moving from facebook to real life is that we were so impressed by some of the photos that we were getting, that we decided we would print the top 30 photos, and post them in the embassy [as an exhibit]... We're also using it to invite embassy contacts that are women, that are interested in women's issues, or photography...[Also], there are these institutions that are called bi-national centers that are now independent NGOS, so we're partnering with the bi-national center to use the venue for the exhibit.

Figure 3 below is an example of some of the photos fans of Embassy Halcion's fans sent in for the contest.

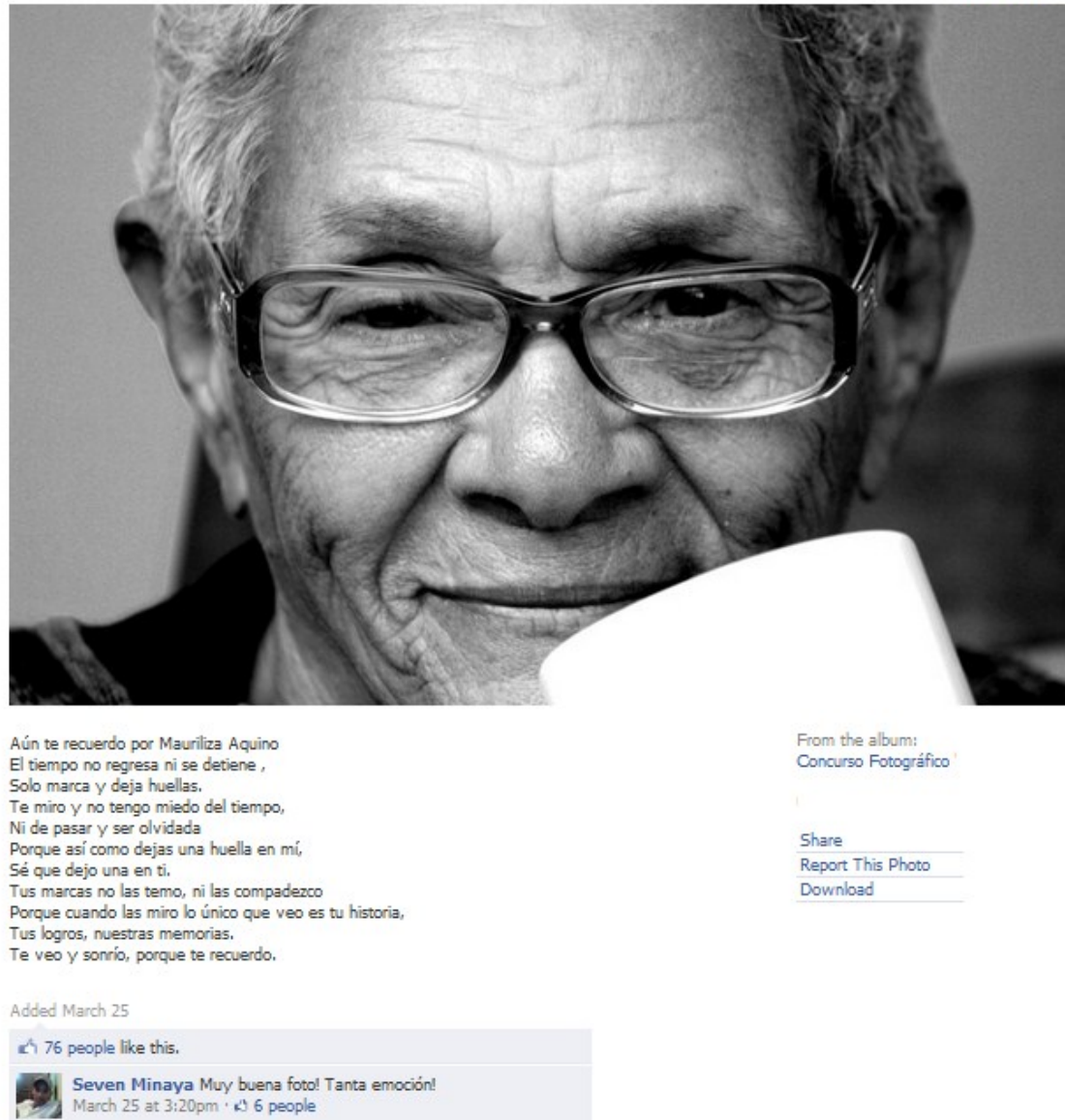


Figure 3 Embassy Halcion women's history photo contest

John Kenneth tells a story about making a connection with a follower of the facebook page he manages who is diametrically opposed to US policy in the Middle

East. Around President's Day, John Kenneth made a post about Abraham Lincoln's impact on American thought, and this normally critical follower commented that although I say "sharp things about your country...I mean no harm, my prayers are with you". John Kenneth celebrated the fact that "we found common ground somewhere else. That's always the goal of public diplomacy..."

John Kenneth also gave an example of State publications formed from discussions taking place on State facilitated Facebook discussions. Figure 4 is an example of a publication of comments from users around the world concerning President Obama's 2010 conference with Young African Leaders.

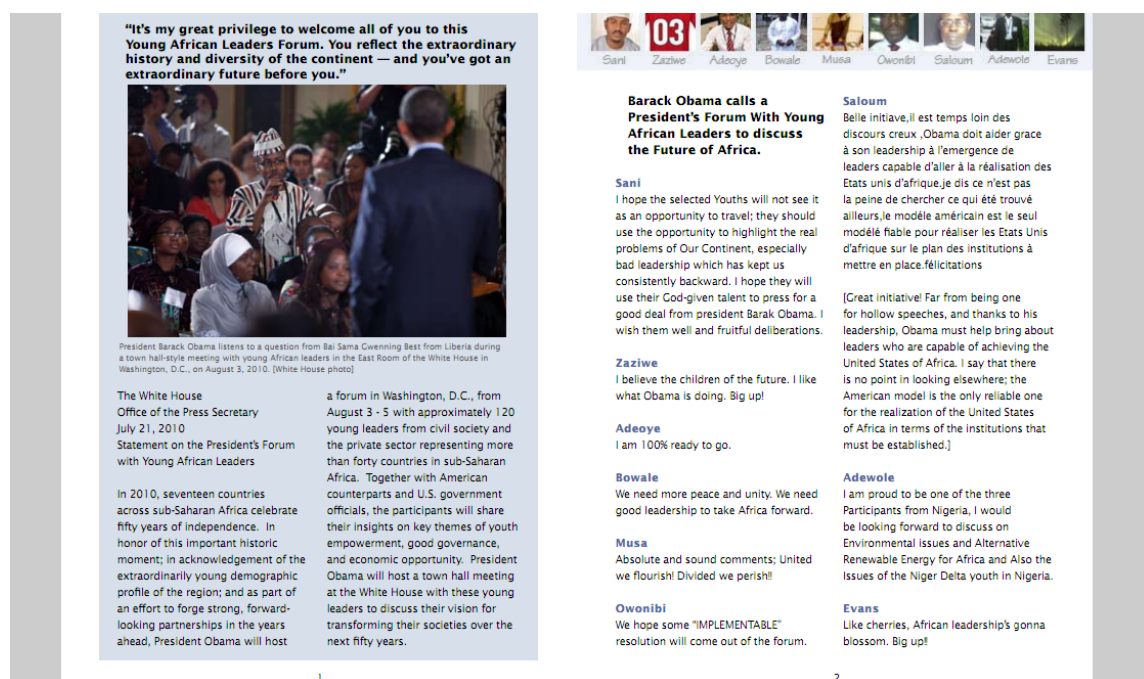


Figure 4 State's new media publication

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Paradigm Shifts

These changes that we are observing do not represent a full paradigm shift as argued by Ammon. “It is a triple paradigm shift converging on a common infrastructure” according to the State Department. The remnants of older forms of diplomacy are still alive in well in new media outreach to the degree that one might argue that the medium has not changed the message. Diplomacy has, from its inception, been perceived by many practicing it to be in a state of flux. Over the centuries, the norms under which diplomacy has been conducted have indeed been in constant evolution. “Old diplomacy” (Ammon, 2001, p. 49), characterized by a small class of elite citizens engaging in private and autonomous activities on the part of the state, began in fifteenth century Italy and was institutionalized by the French in the seventeenth century. “New diplomacy” (Ammon, 2001, p. 44) was brought about by an openness in diplomatic operation spurred by Wilson’s Fourteen Points and advances in communications technology that introduced non-traditional actors into public conversation. Referencing the advent of television, Ammon (2001) described shifts in the field of diplomacy and technology have moved us into the “instantaneous communication paradigm” (p. 25). I argue that the emergence of a new communication paradigm characterized by new media may be yet premature. Ammon’s description of paradigm shift as the emergence of practices unprecedented within the current worldview does not describe what is occurring on many of the social media platforms as State is using them currently. The technologies

are used in many cases just as those in previous paradigms: information and policy is pushed to the masses in the form of 140 character tweets, or longer Facebook postings. However, new uses are beginning to emerge that may push diplomatic communication with the masses into a new paradigm in coming years.

We may in fact be in a pre-paradigmatic stage, whereby some of the mechanisms in old diplomatic paradigms are still in operation. I argue that the linear progression in changing paradigms is constrained by organizational structure. Though new technologies provide affordances for new modes of communication with audiences, existing structures in the organization constrain the progression that Ammon theorized. Despite development occurring and the technologies provision to the organization to dialogue with audiences on policy issues, it is still being used in similar ways to technologies from previous eras, and yet new uses have emerged as well. The ability to bring individuals into dialogue from across the globe on certain new media platforms is unprecedented. This ability also brings a conversational logic to what has been theorized as a database medium (Kluver, 2002, 2007).

Edward Murrow argued the heart of public diplomacy was closing the last three feet of separation between governments and publics in face to face conversation. Social media is providing a means whereby Public Affairs officers can connect with new audiences and bring in individuals to embassies who otherwise may not have had access before. In this sense, these new technologies are accomplishing one of the fundamental goals of public diplomacy, which is to forge connections and understandings with

publics. Having an understanding of these technologies will be important in the coming years as their use increases by government actors.

Research Questions Revisited

My analysis of State's PD efforts centered around three strands: the nature of the technological tools and their use, the nature of organizing in relation to how the technology is constructed, and the nature of the interactions taking place between governmental actors and users. My analysis also considers the reification in the use of social media public diplomacy as public, as influence without propaganda, and as communicative. In this discussion, I frame the discussion of each research question using these themes.

Research Question One

In what ways does 21st century statecraft represent a paradigm shift in diplomatic operation? In what ways does it not?

The shift from the elite communication paradigm to the mass communication paradigm moved diplomatic discussion into the public sphere. While elites were still conducting the business of diplomacy, the introduction of mass print media introduced two expectations to the public: a right to know and the existence of a free marketplace of ideas (Ammon, 2001). The shift between paradigms rested on the acceptance of these two ideas. With these concepts in operation and Wilson's proclamation that diplomacy should take place in the public eye, nations witnessed a move to inform the public of diplomatic decisions being made by government actors. As we moved further into the second half of the 20th century, influential diplomats such as Gullion and Murrow

pushed for public diplomacy to move beyond informing foreign publics and telling our story, but to foster dialogue and mutual understanding (Saxon, 1998).

In some ways, present- day PD efforts using social media are just as those in previous diplomatic paradigms involving only elite communication. We can take Raoul's "digerati" for example. His embassy's seeking out of the elite of the capital city (and in the country at large) to evaluate content is reminiscent of old diplomacy. These digerati represent a new class of elites who have both digital access and high levels of digital literacy. They are the individuals sought out for expertise in the creation of content and its distribution to networks of interest. Alec Ross's limited amount of addressivity to those outside of elite actors on his feed reminds us with whom policy discussions (or discussions at all) tend to take place with. Embassy Jakarta's feed is another example, with limited instances of direct address to 'regular' citizens. This is surprising in that Jakarta's audience is focused on a particular constituency, not a global audience of technologists, State Department followers, and global citizen activists as is the case with Ross.

Despite the lack of dialogue reflected in the limited exchange with followers, the *goal* of dialogue with citizens was still held in high regard by individuals at all levels at State. Perhaps frequency is not the most important measure of the degree to which State embraces dialogic interaction in their communication with constituents. It is occurring. PD actors who I spoke to did value, and attempted to include, non-traditional actors in aspects of PD outreach. For example, PA officers tried to connect with individuals outside of the capital city. Historically, there has been little ability to connect with

citizens of the capital city, let alone throughout the host nation. PA officers were excited about the ability to connect in substantive ways with individuals whom they were unable to connect with before. Florence's Book Club, Hariri's iftar dinners, and John Kenneth's connection with an Indian fan about the common appreciation for Lincoln all brought regular citizens in to the embassy and in contact with influential members of the USG. These instances of contact represent exemplars of social media providing meaningful connections between government actors and global citizens that may not have been possible before. Though it may be in a small way, State has in these cases had success in closing the last three feet to which Murrow referred.

The information environment and the wide availability of mobile technology have made closing the last three feet possible in different areas of the world. Raoul argued a direct connection between his embassy's ability to connect with individuals in the region and the price of mobile phone technology with bundled Internet packages. Infrastructure and issues of technology affordance do affect the success of these efforts.

Seeing State make these connections with citizens from various classes could represent a few things. It could represent the creation of a new set of elites – those who have access to these technologies and those who do not. It could represent a division between those citizens who have significant advancement in digital literacy and those who do not. It could also represent a closing of the gap between classes by bringing new citizens into contact and use with these technologies. Though infrequent in these data, the moments of connection between the government and citizens had real meaning for the PA officers that I spoke to and likely to the citizens as well.

Research Question Two

What type of dialogue is occurring on these new media platforms?

Public diplomacy is communicative. That is to say, it is concerned with closing the last three feet of separation between government actors and citizens through communication. Its focus is to bring individuals into face-to-face conversation with the USG. We have seen instances of social media providing that opportunity, by reaching out and bringing individuals into the embassy that would not have had access previously. Yet, despite the ability of these technologies to create dialogue between government actors and citizens, dialogue between these two actors in particular is a rare occurrence online. As we have seen in interviews and in the preceding textual analysis, instances of dialogue often only occur with elites. On Twitter in particular, this was a strategy in and of itself. The goal for many PA officers was to see the information posted retweeted by other Twitter users. The best vehicle through which to accomplish this goal was to tweet on the pages of those with large followings: consequently those were influential users. Larger groups of people worldwide would be more likely to happen across the information, and more groups of people would be likely to retweet as a result of this strategy.

The type of interaction is largely one of information distribution, both at the embassy level and at the larger, national figure level. This lack of dialogue is also occurring, in large part, due to the reification of existing organizational structures. We see social media being used in many ways like one-way technologies of previous eras, with Voice of America and RFE/RL as programs in State from which we can draw parallels. The

structure of clearance, discussed further below, has constrained State's use of the technologies by dictating what can and cannot be posted online and in what manner. What has been provided for in these social media networks has not been as much a dialogue between government actors and individual citizens of various nations, but instead a dialogue between citizens of nations. With a simple Facebook posting, State can facilitate, or begin, a conversation between an individual in Matamoros and Manila, or between an individual in Honduras and Hong Kong. These individuals are having substantive foreign policy discussions on Facebook as a result of the space set up by organizations such as the State Department.

Thus, if State is not facilitating conversation, it is pushing information through these platforms as vehicles for information distribution. The idea of information distribution as opposed to dialogue on these platforms was evident in the Twitter feeds of Ross and Jakarta. The majority of information posted was that which was retweeted. Success for embassy workers and those in Washington was if posts were retweeted. The type of information being pushed and redistributed via these channels is similar to those being used with previous technologies. I compare and contrast the uses of the technology below.

Research Question Three

In what ways is it similar and/or different to State public diplomacy new media outreach from previous eras?

Public diplomacy is influence without propaganda. As the field was developing in the 1940s on, and with the creation of the US Information Agency, practitioners, the

public, and policymakers have debated what public diplomacy using technology really means. Voices of America broadcasts during WWII and in the Cold War were vigorously debated by practitioners inside State and by journalists working for VOA as to the nature of the programming: whether it was truly propaganda, or unbiased information about the US. Practitioners today are having similar discussions. Raoul's deliberate distinction between how his embassy is going about the promotion of ideals of both the USG and his host nation on social media was telling: it was not "brainwashing" but instead promotion of a bilateral agreement between the local government and the USG.

In decades past, the USG has selected themes along which to focus in PD outreach to other nations that coincide with democracy and freedom. In today's PD outreach we see a similar trend. Internet freedom is a large theme of 21st century statecraft, similar to themes seen in earlier technological outreach efforts in State. Just as the United States introduced radio frequencies carrying democratic ideals and the American way of life to nations in political oppression, we see the same with net freedom. 21st century statecraft is committed to ensuring Internet freedom for nations experiencing political turmoil. The Voice of America broadcasts were mechanisms whereby radio could be used to introduce freedom to those hindered by lack of access to information. We see the same type of ideals guiding Ross's and Embassy Jakarta's Twitter feeds.

The three aspects of Internet freedom: freedom of expression, open markets online, and freedom to connect are ideals that were promoted in physical spaces in earlier PD campaigns. The VOA and RFE/RL both brought discussions to citizens of other nations

focused on learning (and subsequently modeling) how Americans expressed varieties of opinions, had a wide range of goods and services from which to choose, and had access to radio and other information technologies of the time. This is now being promoted in cyberspace.

21st century statecraft has become about providing safe and free access for citizens around the world to technological networks. The State Department has advocated for the citizens organizing in Middle Eastern nations to have secure https Internet connections to ensure American ideals of freedom of assembly and speech for citizens around the world. Government officials even intervened with Twitter to delay maintenance during the June 2009 student-led Iranian revolutions to ensure ability to assemble. Morozov, a scholar who has taken particular issue with the trends toward 21st century statecraft has viewed actions such as the one described above as forming problematic relationships between the USG and the private sector. Morozov (2010) argued that the Internet is just as political as energy was during the Bush administration and goes as far to describe the group of academics, private sector players and State Department executives as the “Internet freedom industry”. The close relationships facilitated by the State Department with Twitter, Facebook, Google and academic centers such as the Berkman Center have resulted in cash flows funding research, and publicity. These relationships were apparent in Ross and Jakarta feeds, where State Department Technology Delegations were showcased and publicized. These delegations are designed in some ways to address the issue of access to technology being limited to global elites. The delegations are comprised of technologists from State and the private sector that travel to strategic parts

of the globe to equip local citizens with the tools necessary to engage in the networked society. These delegations are a conundrum in that their purpose is to equip ‘have-nots’ with the tools necessary to become connected and economically and politically viable in the global networked society. Yet at the same time, elites are strengthening their relationships through these delegations and, according to Morozov, receiving material benefits from the relationships formed. With Internet freedom such a large portion of the texts and interviews conducted in this project, there is some merit to Morozov’s argument that the Internet is not an apolitical mechanism.

The use of social media in the organization is causing a re-creation of organizational structures. In particular, State is negotiating items such as information release and clearance. We also see a decrease in the importance of government voice in discussions about USG policy created by these technologies. Instead, the voices of citizens around the world are central in the discussions taking place online. As a bureaucratic organization that spends significant time negotiating how information is handled, existing structures such as clearance have dictated how new media are being used by State. As an organization, State has chosen to leave much of the decision-making authority in the hands of the embassies when it comes to clearing the types of information posted on social media platforms. Some embassies have tighter structures than others. It is tempting to think of State as this monolithic organization, but it is in fact fragmented. Officers in State view operations based upon region (the Bureau for African Affairs, Bureau for East Asian Affairs, etc.). This perspective on operations has translated into how information is cleared and released. In each embassy, the protocol

for clearance is left to the discretion of the Ambassador. The officers with whom I spoke related a loosening of clearance procedures by their embassies and/or offices in D.C. However, information posted to social media platforms always stayed safely within the confines of what PA officers understood to be 'safe'. If posts concerning official policy statements were being made, direct quotes from officials in question were what PA officers used to stay within the clear concerning clearance. In Twitter feeds, retweeting from official State sources occurred often. These were 'safe places' for employees. What has happened is that the medium has changed, but in many cases the message has not. As a result, the type of interaction taking place with citizens around the world is oftentimes unidirectional. Citizens had agency and voice to express perspectives on policies of the USG on embassy Facebook pages and Twitter feeds. Yet, in many cases, those voices did not cycle back into policy discussions in the embassy or in Washington.

As a result of State staying within the bounds of clearance and the exigencies of social media requiring frequent updates, government has become less a producer of content than in the uses of previous communications technologies. Whereas State wrote and broadcasted all the content in VOA broadcasts after they moved the operations inside the organization, we see that what is taking place in these forums is a preponderance of other voices. The Voice of America featured content discussing American news, policy and life by the USG. In these new media sites, we see State facilitating conversations of global community members. The voice of the USG has become increasingly less important in these forums, where citizens of other nations use

the agency provided by the web to join conversations on US policy with citizens of other nations.

This disjuncture between government intent and actual practice happens in the negotiation of organizational structure, history and technology. While those in State and in other nations hope for interactive connections with citizens via social media, this does not often occur. Organizational structures in State constrain the use of the technology to those that occurred in previous diplomatic paradigms. Although we are in what Ammon would call the Instantaneous Communication paradigm, social media have been used much like technologies in previous communication paradigms. In particular, the Mass Communication paradigm was characterized by information push to the masses using radio and television. Feedback loops were not afforded to the public via the technology. Despite the possibility of dialogue between government and citizens via social media, we often see the information push model being used. Organizational structures such as clearance, and the exigency produced by the instantaneous nature of the web limited the ability of PA officers to engage with online communities. Instead, conversations were facilitated online in many cases and information was pushed to the masses. Figure 5 references these effects and tensions.

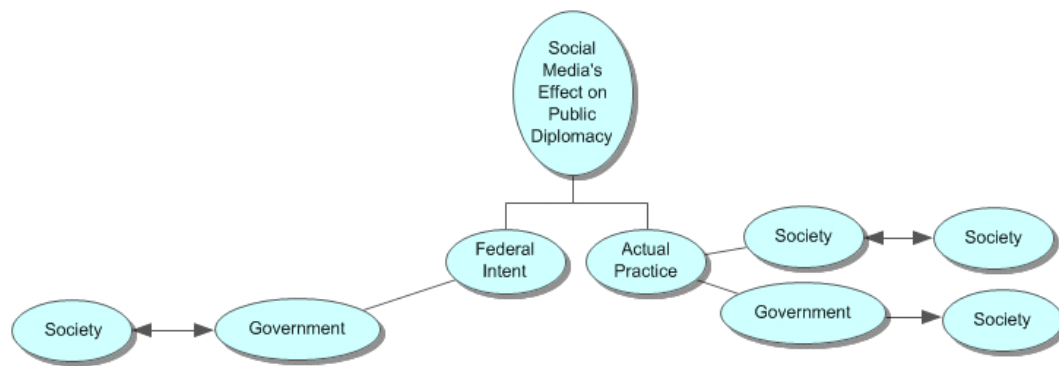


Figure 5 Social media's effect on public diplomacy

Limitations

This study constitutes a preliminary examination of the use of social media in public diplomacy, but it is limited in important ways. The limitations for this study included the small sample size of participants with whom I spoke to collect trends in the organization. Despite the interpretive methodology used in this project, a larger sample would have provided a richer understanding of the concepts brought to light in the interviews. The small sample size was primarily driven by the practical requirements of conducting the study. Yet, the participants interviewed provided detailed and varied perspectives of social media implementation and use by the organization. At the same time, State does not have large task forces of employees working on social media at embassies. In a typical Public Affairs team, there is one appointed Public Affairs officers and an average of five or so locally engaged staff (LES) that are assigned to tend to the Public Affairs branch of the entire embassy. Social media is just one component of many PA functions, such as the organization of embassy events with key local officials, press releases,

coordinating cultural exchanges, and other activities. The PA teams are small. Yet, a larger sample of PA officers from other embassies should provide more insights. For example, it is possible that those with whom I spoke had a vested interest in social media advancement in State, thus their responses likely reflect those already oriented to social media. Those individuals who were willing to talk are either involved in teams in Washington whose sole responsibility is to provide support for embassies working with social media, or whose job description includes engaging foreign publics using Web 2.0 technologies. As such, the results could only represent the perspectives of a specific subset of employees within the organization. Future research would interview additional people, yet, it should still use the same theoretical guidance in selecting participants. In particular it should continue to take advantage of purposive sampling. For example, it would have been helpful to interview individuals in different branches and in different geographic areas.

Also, the content analysis of this study was limited to one medium: Twitter. Each of the embassies with whom I came into contact had a multi- pronged social media strategies using Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other platforms. Focusing on one of these technologies gave just one perspective of social media strategy. The strengths and weaknesses discussed in the analysis of Twitter content only represent those from one medium. Facebook and YouTube have a set of strengths and limitations different from those described in the preceding analysis chapter. Thus, the findings above are not representative of State's social media strategy at large, but instead one perspective of the overall move toward 21st century statecraft.

Future Research

This project examined State's social media use from the perspective of a specific medium. Future research should take a holistic look at State's social media use on various platforms to further understand and describe patterns of use and how those patterns speak to the paradigm progression taking place. An analysis of the types of interaction taking place on Facebook, or the effects of visual media on connections with foreign audiences will speak to 21st century statecraft's broader efforts on all media.

Government and technology have always had an interdependent relationship in the progression of political movements and in the representation of nations themselves. John Kenneth expressed a similar sentiment:

You can trace the use of the latest communications technology in any revolution or uprising. If you go back to the Color Revolutions for Eastern Europe and Polish solidarity in the '80s, they talk about the importance of fax machines. If you go back to the Russian Revolution in the beginning of the 20th century, people had portable presses on their trains and they were....distributing their fliers and their information. Go back to freaking Paul Revere riding up and down the coast using his horses. People are using the latest technology to get their point across. And what we're doing in technology now is no different. It's reaching more people faster.

Understanding government's participation in these contested spaces will continue to hold value as global conflicts proliferate. Israel presents an excellent exemplar of a nation in which the crafting of diplomacy messages using new media is especially crucial. Israel has become increasingly unpopular on the world scene in recent years with the Flotilla controversy, settlement disputes, and the 2006 invasion of Gaza. There is a vested interest for Israel to engage in positive public diplomacy campaigns, and they are using new media in fascinating ways to accomplish that goal. The site to examine

government-to-individual communication is ripe for interpretive research seeking to understand and describe new forms of public diplomacy.

Theory construction in communication concerning social media is still in the stages of infancy. Kluver's (2002) description of the logics of new media in geopolitics (narrative, database, and conversational) could be applied to projects evaluating states' uses of new media and their significance. In particular, he described the limited abilities of new media to provide spaces for *reasoned* discussion and conversation. They instead are often places where individuals "vent personal opinions" and rarely consider counter-arguments (p. 505). However, with the proliferation of technologies that, by definition, rely on feedback loops, the nature of conversation and the conversational logic may change. Future research should expound on these logics in the praxis of government entities using new media.

Future research should also broaden scope from an actor focus to a network focus. Not only should the State Department's social media projects be examined holistically, but also the networks where discussions of trending topics take place should be examined, taking into account multiple actors. Questions seeking to explore the geopolitical impact of these technologies can begin to be answered by projects that examine the networks and dialogues taking place on these platforms.

Conclusion

The effects of social media on public diplomacy are not as significant as popular culture and those in the technological determinist camp may suggest, nor have they been inconsequential. Tropes that have been a part of public diplomacy for at least half a

century are present in the uses of these technologies. Just as the Voice of America was involved in transmitting the ideals of the American government and policy such as democracy through their programming, State is still aiming to accomplish the same with targeted audiences. Assessments made in popular culture as to the nature of social media's use by government actors have been technologically deterministic in nature. Those within State and scholars outside of the USG recognize the connections being made and problematize them. But as Alec Ross, argued, other factors (namely people) will drive the coming revolution. The significance of the global conversations taking place cannot be ignored, and the degree of information redistribution taking place on these platforms cannot be denied. This project centers on the similarities between previous communication paradigms and the paradigm in which we now find ourselves. Due to the nature of the organization, the modes of communication have not changed despite the use of the new technology. Just as one-way, or technologies were used in projects like the Voice of America to promote American ideals and educate societies concerning the nature of America, the same is occurring via Twitter and Facebook. My core argument is that aspects of previous paradigms are still being overlaid on current communications technologies. The implementation of these technologies has indeed introduced a dynamic to public diplomacy practice that will have significant impact in the future.

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